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# ***JPRS Report***

## **West Europe**

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## WEST EUROPE

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## WEST EUROPEAN POLLING INSTITUTES MEASURE GORBACHEV POPULARITY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Jun 87 p 8

[Article by Per Luthander: "West Europeans Trust Gorbachev's Desire for Peace"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev and the Kremlin are doing more for peace and disarmament in the world than Ronald Reagan and the White House. A real change in attitude for the better is taking place in Gorbachev's Soviet Union.

This is the opinion of Western Europe, from a broad investigation of opinions and attitudes toward the Soviet Union conducted by Swedish IMU [Institute for Market Research] in cooperation with a number of West European polling institutes for DAGENS NYHETER.

The poll, which was conducted between 24 March and 30 May, included nine countries: in addition to Sweden there was Belgium, France, West Germany, Greece, Italy, Holland, Great Britain and Switzerland.

The material is based on interviews with 6,064 persons over 15 years of age. In Sweden IMU interviewed 479 persons 18-74 years of age.

#### Great Interest

Interest in the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev is very great today around the world, primarily for two reasons:

1. In Gorbachev the Soviet Union has a relatively young, very dynamic and effective leader after years of humiliating stagnation.

During his two years in power in the Kremlin Gorbachev has shaken up Soviet society. He has attracted enormous attention in the West, and his two favorite words "glasnost" (openness) and "perestroika" (reform) have become catchwords even outside Soviet borders.

2. Gorbachev's counterpart in the White House, President Ronald Reagan, has during the same time period lost much of his radiance and power.

From having been the most popular president of the United States in many years, he is now plagued by set-backs and scandals and has retreated into the White House.

#### Initiative

Mikhail Gorbachev has taken the initiative in disarmament questions, Gorbachev not Reagan has shown that he has "steel teeth" when domestic scandals occur (for example his lightening-quick purge at the top of the defense establishment in connection with the notorious landing on Red Square).

It was Gorbachev who proposed exciting domestic policies parallel with skillfully planned foreign policy actions while Reagan's lack of power was being mercilessly exposed.

Miles of columns have been written in the international press about his reform program, which affects not only the economy, but also Soviet social policies, prices and wages, business leadership and the responsibilities of citizenship, to mention a few examples.

The Soviet Union has become a very exciting society where anything can happen.

Dissidents, with Andrei Sakharov in front, are suddenly set free, spontaneous demonstrations are permitted in the middle of Moscow, accidents are fully reported by the media, culture can breathe a little more freely and newspapers take up previously forbidden subjects.

Critics can speak out, criticism is encouraged, openness unlocks previously closed doors, party reforms are openly discussed and people are being purged.

Of course everything is happening in modest doses, or in Gorbachev's own words, "Two steps forward and one step backward."

Soviet allies are forced to follow, although in many instances unwillingly. Gorbachev is the leader of the moment. American experts are already talking about a "historic turningpoint" in the Soviet Union, but at the same time they warn of powerful opposition to Gorbachev's reform program.

#### Local Events

Opinions of Gorbachev and the Soviet Union in West Europe today are affected not only by reports of "glasnost" and "perestroika" from Moscow, but also by local "bilateral" events: In Sweden it is difficult to forget the submarines and Chernobyl. In France an extensive spy scandal took place just at the time when the IMU poll was being conducted. In West Germany they were affected by the missile debate, and in Great Britain Gorbachev was on all the front pages when Margaret Thatcher visited Moscow in the spring.

Judging from the IMU/DAGENS NYHETER poll, certain countries are generally more positive or negative toward the Soviet Union.

## Most Negative

Judging by the poll, Sweden appears to be the most negative. In four of the 10 questions the negative responses dominate. In France and Great Britain they are more negative on three questions, while in Greece they are positive on all 10 questions of the IMU/DAGENS NYHETER poll.

Question 1. Can you name a country which is just now undergoing great changes? Choices: a. The Soviet Union. b. Another country.

Thirty-two percent answered "The Soviet Union," 33 percent "another country" and 32 percent answered "don't know."

In West Germany the figure was 60 percent for the Soviet Union, and in Sweden it was 44 percent for the Soviet Union.

Question 2. The following are a number of factors which can affect peoples' opinions of other countries. What opinion do you have about the Soviet Union on the following factors?

- Soviet policies on peace, arms and disarmament. Fifty-one percent of all those polled answered "positive," 18 percent "negative" and 22 percent were "neither positive nor negative."

Soviet peace policies won the greatest approval in Italy with 68 percent, and in Great Britain with 64 percent.

The most negative were Sweden with 42 percent and France with 24 percent. Only 32 percent of Swedes interviewed were positive toward Soviet peace policies.

- Soviet policies on defense of human rights.

Forty-one percent of those polled answered "negative," 30 percent answered "positive" and 20 percent answered "neither positive nor negative."

Greece was most positive with 51 percent, and Sweden was most negative with 75 percent. Only 13 percent of the Swedes polled were positive.

Italy and Greece topped the "positive list" with 47 and 45 percent (Sweden was 22 percent), while Sweden topped the "negative list" with 40 percent, followed by France with 25 percent.

- Gorbachev's statements.

Fifty-two percent were "positive" and only 13 percent were "negative." Holland was the most positive with 71 percent (Sweden 57 percent) while France was the most negative with 14 percent (Sweden 10 percent).



## The Future

- The possibilities of solving Soviet problems in the future.

A total of 41 percent answered "positive" and 19 percent "negative." Great Britain and Italy were more positive with 59 and 57 percent respectively (Sweden 40 percent). The most negative attitudes were in Sweden and Switzerland with 21 and 23 percent respectively.

Question 3. Do you believe that what one hears and reads about the Soviet Union is mostly positive, pleasant things, or mostly negative, less pleasant things, or does one hear and read positive and negative things equally?

Twenty-two percent of those asked replied "positive things," 26 percent "negative things" and 42 percent replied "both equally."

Greece and West Germany topped the "positive list" with 43 and 42 percent (Sweden 12 percent). We in Sweden are the most negative with 51 percent, followed by Switzerland with 38 percent.

An examination of the special statistics for each country shows that in Sweden men are more positive than women on this question, and that those over 55 are also more positive than the age group 18-34.

## Improvement

Question 4. Do you believe that general opinion of the Soviet Union lately has improved, worsened or remained unchanged?

A total of 63 percent answered "improved." Holland was at the top with 80 percent followed by Italy with 73 percent (Sweden 65 percent).

A total of 4 percent answered "worsened." Sweden was at the top with 6 percent.

A total of 23 percent answered "unchanged" with Switzerland at the top with 28 percent (Sweden 27 percent).

An examination of the special statistics for Sweden shows that 76 percent of the men polled compared with 54 percent of the women believe that general opinion has improved. The strongest support for this opinion comes from those over 55.

Those in the age group 18-34 dominate those believing that general opinion has worsened.

Question 5. Which of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are in your opinion doing the most to reduce armaments?

Eleven percent said the United States while 32 percent said that the Soviet Union is doing most. Forty-four percent said that both are doing an equal amount.

France is at the top of the supporters of the United States with 17 percent (Sweden 7 percent). Greece is the lowest with 4 percent.

Greece is at the top of the Soviet supporters with 58 percent (Sweden 28 percent). France is the lowest with 17 percent.

Of the "both equally" group, West Germany is at the top with 58 percent (Sweden 56 percent).

The United States supporters in Sweden are dominated by women and those over 55. Men and those 18-34 dominate the supporters of the Soviet Union.

#### Real Change

Question 6. It appears that in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev there are a number of positive changes taking place such as in the policy toward dissidents, more openness, economic changes, etc. Do you believe that this is a real change of attitude for the better or not?

"Yes, a real change" answered a total of 66 percent of those asked in West Europe, while 16 percent answered no to the same question.

The yes list was topped by Italy, with 87 percent, followed by Great Britain with 83 percent (Sweden 68 percent).

The no list was topped by France with 29 percent (Sweden 18 percent). Only 5 percent of those polled in Italy do not believe that it is a "real change", while the French appear to be more skeptical: only 34 percent answered yes.

Looking at the Swedish statistics, more men than women believe in a real change for the better in the Soviet Union. The age group over 55 is dominant among those answering no.

#### Danish Attitude

Finally the pollsters turned to Denmark, where 100 men and women were asked only two questions.

To the first question--whether attitudes toward the Soviet Union are getting better or worse--66 percent replied that they were getting better, while 2 percent said they were getting worse. Twenty-five percent replied that they saw no change.

To the question which of the two superpowers are doing the most for disarmament, 9 percent replied the United States, 25 percent the Soviet Union, 18 percent replied "equally much" and--for safety's sake--38 percent replied "equally little."

## Brittons Charmed

It was in Great Britain that Mikhail Gorbachev made his first great international appearance. It was during this visit that the world got the hint that something could be happening in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev came to London with his wife Raisa and a large delegation in December 1984. That already seems like a long time ago against the background of everything that has happened in Moscow since then.

It was rumored that the powerful, youthful politbureau member was on his way to the top of the Kremlin. His hosts--with Margaret Thatcher in front--obviously acted as though the speculations were correct, and gave him a royal welcome. That would prove to be very foresighted.

As the visit progressed, the British MP's and journalists became more and more surprised and impressed.

Here they suddenly met a presumptive Russian leader who appeared to be entirely Western, even though he naturally took positions which were sharply tilted toward the East on most questions.

Thatcher summarized the Russian visit with a statement which became almost classic. Gorbachev, she said, was a man that "one could do business with," someone who could be trusted.

These two politicians, who obviously enjoyed endless conversations marked by limitless differences, developed a kind of respect for each other.

Thatcher's judgment of Gorbachev ("I trust his word") appears to have been largely accepted by the British public.

## Turning Point

It has been said that the new man in the Kremlin represents the possibility of a historic change in the Soviet Union.

During recent months, as a long series of Soviet plays has created confusion and splits in Western nuclear strategy, there have been tendencies toward suspicion. Is not this new man a little too smart? Are not his moves a little too precise?

These are complicated times for Kremlinologists and Soviet experts. The old signals are no longer valid. It is not always easy to understand the mysteries surrounding "glasnost." The uncertainty is great, and it is taking time to absorb all the new developments.

## Change in West Germany

In October 1986 Chancellor Helmut Kohl could happily laugh at his own description of Mikhail Gorbachev. "He is a skillful PR man. Goebbels was too," chuckled Kohl in the American news magazine NEWSWEEK.

The message was, this will pass. In time the Soviet leader will prove to be as false and evil as his predecessors.

The loud, almost relieved laughter with which Helmut Kohl accompanied his prophecy has long since grown silent.

In no West European country has the Gorbachev phenomenon created such change as in West Germany.

"We must expect that he is serious," said Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher before his trip to Moscow in July 1986, and the West German Foreign Ministry is acting in accordance with that statement.

#### Deep Skepticism

It was clear then as it is now that Genscher himself expected it, as does his liberal FDP party, and that the Greens and the Social Democrats were ready to believe in Gorbachev's desire for peace and reform. It is equally clear that Chancellor Kohl and his Christian Democrats thought differently, and still regard Mikhail Gorbachev with deep skepticism.

The conflict is not just a matter of foreign policy. It also reflects the differing views of what West Germany is and will be.

A Soviet leader eager for peace and reform simply does not fit in with the conservative West German view of the world.

"There is a straight line directly from Stalin to Gorbachev," is the summary opinion of the Soviet system from Helmut Kohl's CDU and Franz Joseph Strauss' CSU.

#### More Supportable

Stalin's wickedness is an important element of their view of World War II--thereby Hitler's guilt becomes less unequivocal and German history more supportable. The attitude that Mikhail Gorbachev represents the same type of evil helps them to formulate a specific West German role in the Western world.

One more reason why the Liberals, Social Democrats and "Greens" find it easier to deal with the Gorbachev phenomenon than the conservative government representatives is that they do not have the same view of history and themselves. It is clear that the West German public does not share the skepticism of their chancellor.

#### French Doubts After Espionage

It was not so long ago that a French opinion poll showed that they had greater respect for Mikhail Gorbachev than Ronald Reagan.

That was after the summit meeting in Reykjavik last fall, when Reagan was reported as being more concerned with his standing in public opinion at home

before a congressional election than with the interests of the world. That was in connection with Irangate, which disclosed that the American President was not the master in his own White House, and his security advisor could more or less commit havoc freely and send the profits from the weapons deal with Iran to the contras in Nicaragua.

Then it was not difficult to say, as the French did, that they thought more of the Soviet leader--a Gorbachev on the offensive on several levels, both in foreign and domestic policy.

Last year's symbol of Soviet oppression, Nobel Prize winner Sakarov, was released from his house arrest and he even hailed Gorbachev officially for a new, more open Soviet Union. And in quick succession the new man in the Kremlin presented peace and disarmament proposals.

### Expulsions

However. That was long before the French Security Police disclosed Soviet espionage against the European Ariane missile, which caused the French to expel six Soviet diplomats, and the Soviets responded by expelling six French.

That was before Gorbachev at the end of February made the Western zero solution his own with the same argument for disarmament of the medium range missiles in Europe which the West used eight years previously.

France was caught by surprise, primarily by the United States' positive reception of Gorbachev's proposal. The United States' position had in just a few days turned the Soviet leader's proposal into a serious threat against French defense strategy and the unity behind basing it on nuclear terror.

The French press woke up. Since then arguments for France's overwhelmingly negative attitude have been presented in all possible positive ways.

Briefly stated, the official French viewpoint can be summarized as follows: a zero solution--yes, but not without new demands which make an agreement close to impossible for Gorbachev to digest. This despite the fact that France has repeatedly since 1979 justified the original zero solution.

### Doubt

An American yes to Gorbachev puts the blame on the weakened Reagan with his economic problems, who needs a "victory" before his mandate runs out in order to take his place in history. And the recent positive portrayal of Gorbachev has been replaced by a picture of a wolf in sheep's clothing.

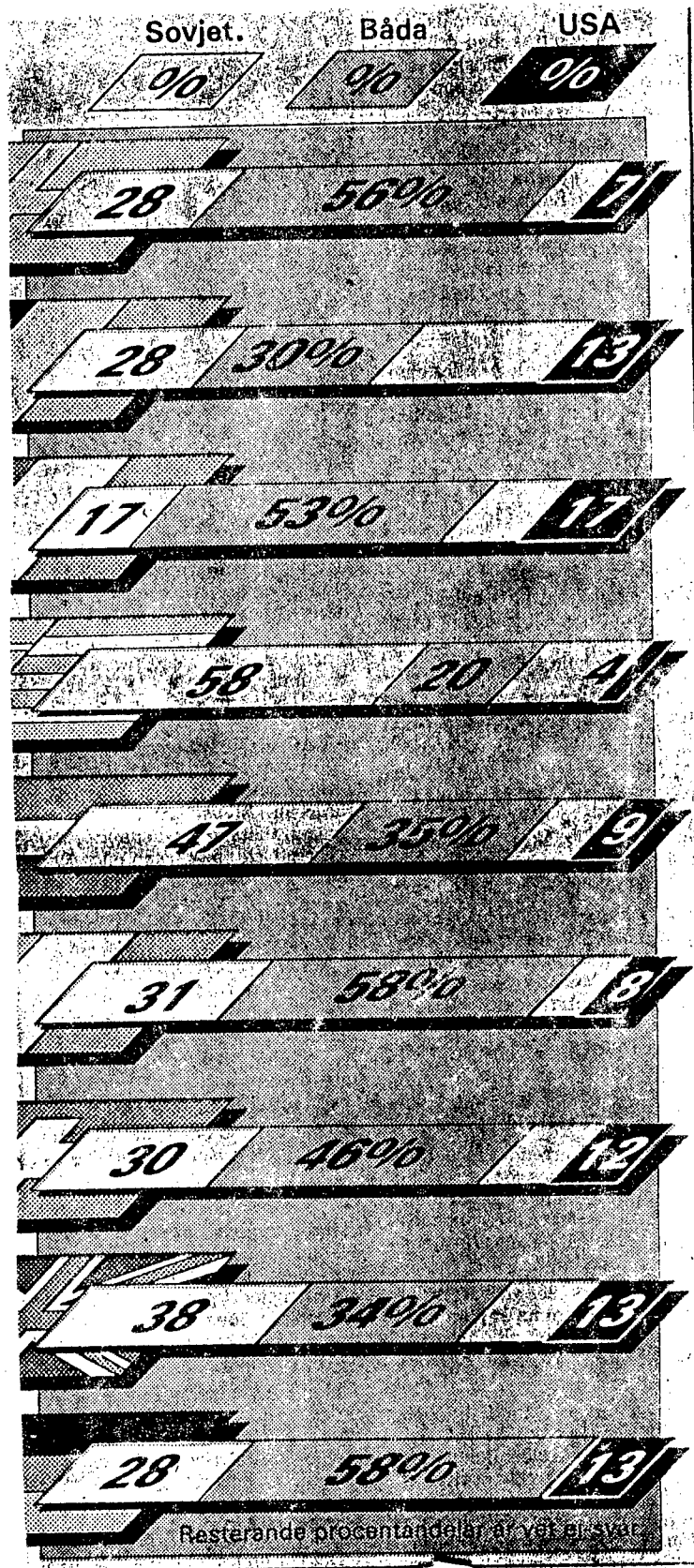
Nobody is satisfied with the perceived opinion of Gorbachev. But a street poll indicates that the French are in doubt.

Question: Do you believe that what you hear and read about the Soviet Union is for the most part positive or negative? Or does one read both positive and negative things equally?



Question: Between the United States and the Soviet Union, which do you believe is doing the most to reduce armament?

(Remaining percentages are "don't know" answers.)



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## VAN MIERT ON DEVELOPMENTS, FUTURE OF FLEMISH SOCIALISTS

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 29 Apr 87 pp 18-28

[Interview with SP chairman Karel Van Miert, on the occasion of his 10th year as chairman, by Hubert Van Humbeeck and Marc Reynebeau: "The Toughest Is Yet to Come"; date and place not given; ellipses as in original; first paragraph is KNACK introduction; the word "liberal" is used throughout in the Belgian sense]

[Text] Karel Van Miert looks about in astonishment and must make an effort to be modest as he finds that he was right too soon and that others realized he was right too late. Ten years as SP chairman, that's a long time. A look at the past, as the chairman himself sees that decade.

On 27 June it will be exactly 10 years since the General Council of what was then still the unitary Belgian Socialist Party elected Karel Van Miert cochairman of the BSP. His predecessor, Willy Claes, had become minister of economic affairs in the second Leo Tindemans (CVP) cabinet, a cabinet with just one important goal: to carry out the famous Egmont Pact. Nobody, certainly not Van Miert himself, had expected the chairman's gavel to be shoved into his hand. Van Miert had become Claes's political chef de cabinet --a job he held for 3 weeks-- and Frank Van Acker was supposed to take over the party leadership. It had even been agreed that Van Miert would assist him. Except that Van Acker had just caused a small revolution in Bruges by forcing the CVP out of city hall and becoming mayor himself, a task that he had his hands more than full with.

Karel Van Miert was no tabula rasa politically. He had worked with EEC Commissioners Sicco Mansholt and Henri Simonet, had represented the Young Socialists in the party governing board, and since 1975 had been deputy national secretary of the BSP. He was considered Flemish chairman Claes's right arm and was closely involved in the party's day-to-day management, as a sort of maid of all work; he owed his title solely to the fact that the job happened to be open at that time.

However, it was a combination of circumstances that propelled Van Miert into the chairman's seat. Actually he had everything going against him: his relative obscurity, his origins as the son of a Campine Catholic farming family, the fact that unlike most of his predecessors he had not acquired



solid experience in Parliament, as well as the fact that he was not the product of one of the various power blocs in the socialist movement. "In normal circumstances," Van Miert says, "it never would have been possible."

But those were not normal circumstances, back then in the second half of the 1970's. Leadership positions in the BSP were still largely filled by the great generation that had emerged right after the Second World War, with only Claes and Van Acker belonging to the next generation. Young Van Miert provided a way out of the impasse, to the astonishment of many. Or was it so astonishing? It was not very difficult to bring the party to adopt this unorthodox choice. The party was then losing its luster; its citadels were beginning to totter or collapse, one after the other; in terms of votes the party had been declining for 20 years. Ossification and stagnation were undeniable.

Van Miert: "The people who gave me that push, Willy Claes above all, knew that I --and others with me, like Norbert de Batselier, Marcel Colla, Piet van Eeckhaut, and Luc Van den Bossche-- had different ideas, ideas that clashed with what the strong-minded old guard thought. I wasn't chosen just to keep the chairman's seat warm for somebody else."

#### Family Feeling

Shortly after Van Miert assumed the chairmanship, the unitary BSP-PSB broke up and the two wings of the socialist movement went their own ways. "Before that, the Flemish were just the little brothers, the French-speakers determined the party's strategy. They based their policy on acquired positions of power --the way the CVP is doing now in Flanders-- and were content with the traditional, doctrinaire certainties. I on the other hand raised the idea of democratic socialism, constantly questioning yourself, constantly working to open up the party. In that way we were able to create a new balance between Flemings and Walloons and build up a natural, Flemish identity for ourselves, without having to become nationalistic to do so. After all, the Flemish and social struggles have always been very closely interwoven."

Karel Van Miert favored approaching politics in a way that would be flexible, dynamic, and sensitive to circumstances, with the SP taking leave of traditional emotional and workers socialism. "Despite the grass roots collapse," Van Miert says, "people continued to view the truths of yesterday as the truths of tomorrow." The idea of party newspapers is just one example of this; a year after Van Miert became chairman, VOLKSGAZET closed down. The party also had to be sensitive to sociological developments and give up one-sided views. Getting a younger group of party cadres and MP's was one of the side effects of this strategy.

Van Miert: "I took risks in this; I didn't just want to be a party administrator, because that's just the way to organize your own ossification. Of course it didn't all go easily, if only because we lost some of the family feeling within the socialist movement. We had to abandon the certainties of the past, admit that we didn't always have a ready answer for new problems, start to think in a more nuanced way about increasingly complex challenges.

Of course we had to lay down some fundamental lines of conduct that you can't deviate from without selling your soul as a socialist party. For instance, the SP is not here to protect the interests of the stock exchange against all kinds of problems or to play around with xenophobic tendencies. You can reform social security, rationalize it, modernize it, but it has to be continue to be a system that the ordinary person can count on for security against life's hard knocks. Those are essentials, particularly now that the neoliberals only want to provide that security to those who can afford it."

The SP chairman has also had to blaze new trails for his own grass roots; for instance, it is disturbing that racist propaganda is having considerable success in the areas where traditional SP voters live. Something similar is occurring in the unions. "Railroad strikes, for instance. Striking against the boss is the traditional formula, the method is by definition a good one. But do people ever ask themselves whether the strike weapon produces the desired effect or whether it isn't counterproductive? A railroad strike mainly hits the ordinary person using public transportation --and he goes over to the Right right there on the platform. People have got to be able to question themselves, their methods, their strategies."

The renewal that Karel Van Miert wanted and wants to bring about in his own party comes up against a serious structural problem. The local federations' great autonomy is in itself a fine thing but the fact that some of them have developed into conservative baronies, often boasting a rich and combative tradition, makes a progressive breakthrough in them extremely difficult. "We've certainly got to take another look at that. I'm often completely powerless against the federations. For instance, there's an urgent need to increase the role of women in party operations, we haven't done well enough at that so far. I can do very little about that at the national level. I don't have anything to say about who gets on candidate lists for city-council and national elections. And you can't always be using positive discrimination mechanisms. Even so, I hope we'll be able to come to some arrangement with the big federations."

#### New Operation

Does the party chairman need more power then? "A chairman has to be able to operate in a whole, has to be able to work from certain generally-accepted principles as laid down by the party congress. But he also has to be able to exercise authority. To play a role in the party, however, it must be enough to belong to the party; rules that a person also has to belong to other parts of the socialist community --however much I favor good relations with these other bodies-- are totally irrelevant. In 1974, for instance, I couldn't be the list-leader in Turnhout because I hadn't belonged to the health fund for 5 years yet, which I couldn't possibly have done, given my age. Wasn't that absurd? I often think, 'Ach, can such situations still exist in 1987?' But I do see an inevitable evolution occurring. The SP mustn't let the fear of risks deter it from evolving."

However, with or without Karel Van Miert, socialism had to change, to approach politics more flexibly and sensitively. Unless the BSP wanted to share the fate of the Section française de l'Internationale Ouvrière, which had shrunk

to a shadow of its former self before the PS was founded. However, this is a process that takes years. Van Miert: "We've passed the turning point, though. Now the party is ready for the next stage. The acute existential questions of 10 years ago have been adequately answered, many problems are now only of historical significance. Just let me cite one fact: we can now count on getting more votes than the French-speaking Socialists. Now we need to move on to a new operation, one that will be based on a new generation that includes Pierre Chevalier and Frank Vandenbroucke, and will be fed by further expansion."

"The problem of women's representation is now a top priority, even though it will cause pain in some places. However, we've eliminated our lack of expertise, thanks to our research service SEVI [Study and Documentation Center, Emile Vandervelde Institute] and the competence of our parliamentary factions. Now, however, we face the problem of finding a good middle way between tying up with new issues and promoting feasible policies. And you have to /make/ [stressed in original] a policy feasible. The first question is: 'How do you acquire sufficient power?' We won't get that power from the financial and other power structures, only from our representativeness and voter support. Second question: 'How can you get that support, while tying in with new concerns and challenges?'"

Openings to progressive Christians through campaigns like Breakthrough and Paks [or Pax] were one of the ways in which Van Miert attempted to broaden the SP's grass roots, although the impression arose that they had less to do with the party's openness than with the frustration of the faithful on the Left. "In this regard we've got to eliminate a historic problem, namely the idea that faith has anything to do with commitment to a party; the latter depends entirely on your view of society. That's got to change but how do we show that? We can only do so at elections but afterwards they accuse us of electioneering. It will take a couple of generations. It's a painful process. Is a formula like Paks already out of date? That doesn't matter -- we have an outstanding representative in Senator Paul Pataer and a formula is just the means to an end, not the end."

#### Heretics

However, opinion polls and the like show that progressive Christians are more likely to support AGALEV. But this party's supporters mostly consist of politically very mobile people driven by fundamental concerns like ecological problems that other parties pay too little attention to. Furthermore, parties like AGALEV today or the People's Union in the past are attractive because of their nonconformity and antiestablishment attitude. Van Miert, however, expects people to move on through AGALEV to his party. "That's not to detract from the value of AGALEV, it's a natural phenomenon, one you also see with the minor Left parties. People don't expect AGALEV to exercise power but once they do, the charm will be gone and that party will have to worry about its viability too. After a period of activism and radicalism, those people will think more about getting practical results, will look for more certainty, and will also become more aware of the complexities and nuances of issues."

Without a doubt, the new SP generation, the young Turks who identified with Chairman Van Miert's action program, have put new issues on the political agenda, particularly as regards defense and foreign policy. In the 1977 coalition negotiations, not a word was said about defense issues: Van Miert raised them later, starting with policy towards Zaire and the deployment of the intermediate-range missiles. "It isn't just that some chairman makes these issues worthy of discussion," says Van Miert. "Anybody capable of indignation cannot just turn the situations he is confronted with into abstractions, unless he just lets others tell him it's all OK. It really is a moral category, I can't make it into an abstraction. But it's also more than that. If you knew what Paul Vanden Boeynants (prime minister in an interim government in 1978-79) planned to do in Zaire... For that matter, even before the NATO dual-track missile decision in 1979 I knew the issue wouldn't be popular. The Hawk-Helip affair opened our eyes. In 1974 Defense Minister Vanden Boeynants said it wasn't possible to buy that equipment for budgetary reasons, but a few years later suddenly it was possible. A complete turnabout, it had nothing to do with logic and everything to do with big business. Nobody showed any interest in that but that kind of thing rubbed our noses into the facts of the matter. When they began to prune social budgets, we began to wonder why defense had to be exempt most of the time. That's another case of getting back to socialist basics. Of course we have to provide for military security but that doesn't mean going blindly along with the arms race."

"Years ago when we suggested just thinking about dropping certain NATO tasks, we were heretics, but now that's generally accepted. Ach, in 1981 during the election campaign then-Prime Minister Mark Eyskens (CVP) came to get me in a marketplace in the Antwerp Campine to settle the purchase of military aircraft on the double; and then they say the Socialists are the ones who squander public funds..."

For Minister of Foreign Affairs Henri Simonet questioning military and foreign policy was like an evil disease but Van Miert denies any fanaticism. "Fanaticism only leads to inhumanity and that's not compatible with democratic socialism, but you do have to have a backbone. It's hard, though, to make headway against the cynicism of ongoing, day-in-day-out governing, against the weariness and the lack of drive that produces."

#### Deceit

In 1977 when Karel Van Miert became chairman, he immediately became one of the junta, the inner circle of party chairmen who had undertaken to faithfully carry out the Egmont Pact, a faithfulness that collapsed when the CVP started making noises. "I got sucked into the whirlpool, even though my priorities were elsewhere; to some extent we were not involved in the main fight because Andre Cools (PS) and Wilfried Martens (CVP) played the main roles. For that matter we were not seeking anything in the whole affair, we'd just joined a historic compromise that the major parties thought was necessary to do away with the communal antagonisms once and for all. I was mainly interested in internal party affairs and in overall SP participation in the work of the government; not much attention was being given to socio-economic problems right then, however."

But Vanden Boeynants, the interim prime minister, suddenly pulled the revolutionary proposal for a 36-hour week out of his top hat. "That made everybody look up: who'd put him up to that? I think, though, that he was interested in sketching out a policy for the longer term, where he would demand quid pro quo's for that proposal. However, it became clear then that socio-economic policy had reached an impasse; ideas were fermenting, in all directions."

However, the collapse of the Egmont Pact at the end of 1978 did grave injury, though not so much to Karel Van Miert perhaps; he was a bit too distanced from the pact, which after all he had not negotiated himself. The great frustration of his political career occurred at the end of 1979, when the government and Parliament approved the NATO dual-track decision and Van Miert was confronted "with loyalty and deceit. When push comes to shove, sometimes certain principles don't seem so obvious. The party shouldn't have accepted the dual-track decision as it did. That was also when I discovered the vulnerability of formal democracy; it's outclassed by other forces, e.g. by the power of Washington. If Frank Van Acker hadn't stopped me, I would have quit as chairman."

Nonetheless, during the first four Martens governments (1979-81), political attention shifted to the socio-economic arena, with the preservation of the index as the Socialists' first priority. "Queer things happened, things that had more to do with internal CVP issues than with relationships among the coalition partners. In 1981 Martens was still swearing high and low that he'd never form a government with the Liberals and considered Willy De Clercq nothing more than a demagogue. Of course the Roman-red coalition did some dumb things, the PS, for instance, should never have made Leon Hurez vice prime minister, but the awful feud between Martens and Tindemans also paralyzed the work of the government. Their trust in one another broke at the same time as the Egmont Pact and couldn't be fixed up again."

The policy of the Roman-blue Martens V and VI coalitions --with the Socialists nailed down in the opposition since 1982-- at least has the advantage of being clear, since it is based on coherent neoliberal logic, with sacrifices as the cornerstone of it. Karel Van Miert believes that a different crisis policy, one not involving growing social inequality, is equally possible: he says the socio-economic blueprints his party has produced since then demonstrate that. His belief is strengthened by the fact that the neoliberal recipe is not producing the predicted results. "It isn't working and what are the neoliberal economists saying now? 'It's the fault of the worn-out model.' They just let the water flow to the sea; now of course you can't try to get it to flow uphill, but you can build dikes, add corrections. It makes no sense at all to fall back on a 15-year old Keynesian model; but if you can meddle with the ordinary worker's pay, why can't you do so with other people's pay?"

Shame

Among the failures of neoliberal policy Karel Van Miert cites lack of investment, despite all the sacrifices; enormous capital flight and capital export; and risk capital that is not taking any risks. "Take the talk about

too high a tax burden when more than half of all companies pay no taxes. As far as I'm concerned the tax rate should come down sharply, but then start by imposing a minimum tax instead of providing 101 ways to get out of paying taxes."

Nonetheless, the question remains what the alternative is: after all, the Belgian market is extremely open and EEC regulations create an economic arena larger than anything a national government can think up in the way of socio-economic policy. However, Van Miert also argues that a government should not replace business, "but that whole range of measures favoring business makes sense only if those companies also fulfill their social function. High profits, that's great, healthy business needs that, but if we ask sacrifices from people to help bring that about, then there should be a quid pro quo. There shouldn't be any more of the hypocrisy of wanting to spice the ordinary man's life with more risk but still demanding privileges for yourself, risk-free investments, easy profits that don't benefit society, only you."

Karel Van Miert sees his views confirmed by the shifts in the United States' once ultraliberal Reaganomics and by the realization that the Martens's policy has failed --with the striking paradox that the discredit into which the government was plunged went hand in hand with unprecedented, high-handed government intervention. Nonetheless, Guy Spitaels's PS has already announced that it will not hear of any "about-face." "I think the PS thinks about power more than we do; it thinks power is its due. For us, though, the likelihood of actually carrying out our program plays a much great role."

In Van Miert's opinion an asymmetric government with PS ministers but with the SP in the opposition is out of the question for practical reasons. However, that still does not make the SP a prisoner of the PS, if only because the Walloon Socialists need the SP in communal matters. On the contrary, Van Miert sees a growing alienation between the current coalition partners, which finds expression in the rhetoric about giving policy a "heart" and in the plan to check out employment. "Neoliberalism is losing its luster more and more. Oh sure, Jean Gol still makes no bones about talking a high-handed game but not everybody supports that, not even in the Liberal camp. The fact that on the most essential points current policy has not produced the desired results has created a very diffuse situation. Something like a feeling of shame has arisen, the feeling that something has got to change."

"What needs to be done? Anybody could have predicted what's happening now: the cuts were going to have a negative effect on growth. I think the cuts should be approached a little more realistically, not so ambitiously, because something like the St. Anna plan just can't be carried out. However, the measures that are decided on should be carried out as fully as possible, without limiting growth. Furthermore, we have to plug the holes so that ordinary people don't have to make heavy sacrifices while certain benefits are left untouched, like with the coordination centers. Even Guy Verhofstadt (PVV) realizes this, as you can see when he wants to tackle fiscal expenditures."

## Half a Billion

Although there is the daily challenge of the crisis policy being carried out by the current coalition, Karel Van Miert, after 10 years as chairman, also faces the problem of the new stage of development he wants his party to enter. "We've got to adjust our policy. We've got to go on getting younger people and creating opportunities for women. The Breakthrough idea needs to be looked at, we need to give it a much bigger role than in the past; we need to be more active about openness. Everybody needs to stay alert, nobody can rest on his laurels. There are quite enough issues left for us to wrestle with, government's role in society, for instance. We mustn't be afraid to question old concepts. Ditto for the tax system, social security, etc."

Specifically, what does the SP have to say to the Limburg mineworkers, for instance? "That's not an easy question to answer; above all, you mustn't lie to people and say that not a single mine needs to close down. That kind of demagoguery only leads to contempt. But the Gheyselinck plan bears no relation to any kind of energy policy, nobody has any ideas about what role coal should play in the energy supply. The government has simply let the problem putrefy. Instead of offering the young and well-trained people of Limburg proper jobs, the government only goes as far as a premium."

Another specific problem that touches the heart of the SP and certainly of chairman Van Miert himself: DE MORGEN, the newspaper into which the socialist movement pumped almost half a billion francs and which then went spectacularly bankrupt --with many recriminations against the party-- and finally was rescued by its readers. Van Miert emphasizes that the SP went as far as it could in its support for DE MORGEN "and even beyond that. People are actually beginning to accuse of us having taken too big a (financial) risk. That was only afterwards, when the truth came out. We're now taking a share of the new paper's capital, only 10 million francs, actually by way of a gift, and that's tough too. For 8 years we did everything we could, now it's up to others to prove they can save themselves."

However, things move quickly in politics. A wound like DE MORGEN is still fresh, in other areas Karel Van Miert sees his views confirmed soon enough, as though he was right too soon and others did not admit he was right until afterwards. "If you can't see any solution today, that doesn't mean you won't tomorrow. In that sense you always get your turn, Frank Van Acker taught me that. But getting others to admit you were right is an academic exercise, it's results that count. Anybody who's only out get his turn personally has got things wrong and ought to get out. But things evolve, and in that way you get your turn."

## Two Years

There is no rule about how long a person can stay on as chairman of a party. Personally, Karel Van Miert views his current mandate as continuing right through the remainder of the parliamentary term, about 2 years, but he wants to continue to distinguish between his personal fate and the coming city-council, national, and European elections on the one hand, and the new stage of development within the SP --to which he wants to continue to give the

necessary "impetus"-- on the other hand. "I see my task for the coming years clearly before me. Those further challenges are not tied to my person. In 2 years we'll draw up a new balance sheet. I don't want to tie myself into my chair, though, I don't want to grow old in this job. Undoubtedly there are people who can carry on this work. But that problem doesn't arise now: we're starting a 2-year period in which I want to exercise the chairmanship fully, as in the past. There's an awful lot of work to do. I feel this is the toughest period. After that we'll see who the best person is to get through the following period as chairman. All that will depend on the question of whether we will be in the government or not. You can't predict that kind of thing."

For his part, Karel Van Miert is very clear that he is not about to start another 10-year term as chairman. "No, I'm not saying that. There may come a time when others understand the new problems better. I think this new stage will be perfect though, but not with the idea that 'I'm in the seat and it fits me to a T.'"

12593

CSO: 3614/74



## PAPER URGES CLOSING DOWN MINISTRY FOR GREENLAND AFFAIRS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 27 May 87 p 10

[Editorial: "After Høyem"]

[Text] With the decision of Center Democrat Tom Høyem to leave the government to become headmaster of the European School in Culham the time should approach for a decision on the part of the Prime Minister to close down the Ministry for Greenland Affairs.

Contrary to several of his nine predecessors--Johs. Kjærbo1, Kai Lindberg, Mikael Gam, Carl P. Jensen, A.C. Normann, Knud Hertling, Holger Hansen, Jørgen Peder Hansen and Tove Lindbo Larsen, Tom Høyem has understood his task of being the government's minister for Greenland and not Greenland's minister. That is why he has constantly been unpopular among the Greenland politicians--often unjustly, because he has contributed with both insight and involvement to the final "decolonization" of Greenland. The home-rule government has taken over the Greenland Department of Trade, etc. It now looks as if there will be delays because of the elections to the Greenland parliament yesterday, but before long only the joint Kingdom will be left--and such matter are most naturally handled by the Prime Minister's Office, which already safeguards the relations with the Faroe Islands.

In the fall--32 years after the formation of the Ministry for Greenland Affairs and 27 years after the appointment by Viggo Kampmann (to ensure his parliamentary majority) of Mikael Gam as the first "actual" minister for Greenland affairs--Poul Schluter ought to take the opportunity of Tom Høyem's resignation to reduce his staff of ministers, which is very large. Why postpone a natural development?

7262

CSO: 3613/97

## HOLKERI GOVERNMENT ENGINEERS CHANGES IN PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

## Koivisto's Government-Formation Actions

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 5 May 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Explanation and Proof of Explanation"]

[Text] President Mauno Koivisto seems to have been badly provoked by that criticism which has been directed at him from various quarters in connection with government negotiations.

In forming a new government the President defended his chosen marching formation and the surprises it presented to him in rather great detail. In order to dispel the taste of a possible explanation, Koivisto made public a tape of a discussion with Esko Rekola, the first government scout, as a new piece of evidence.

The President has previously resorted to the force of evidence in the form of tapes made public. Apparently, his conversations are systematically taped. Their value as a convincing argument is indisputably greater than even the most authoritative explanations, but, indeed, not exhaustive.

In light of the tape made public, it does, in fact, seem that Koivisto did not really believe that a blue-red government would come about immediately on the basis of the first mandate. In addition to the Conservative Party, he also doubted that the SDP would enter the government. Therefore, the President had, on the one hand, made preparations in the event of a bourgeois government and, on the other hand, for the SDP's intimidation by the reality of this threat.

Let it be sufficient to make tapes public. Without a doubt, Koivisto had made preparations, if necessary, to be satisfied with a bourgeois government. But how probable did he consider this to be in the final count?

The President can justifiably be indignant about being labelled a gambler. On the other hand, it is useless for him to dispute and be ashamed of the fact that as president he was able to determine, to a rather great degree, the content of the manuscript for the government negotiations. In it a

bourgeois government's turn did not come until after that of a blue-red government. Koivisto's reasons for the marching formation were natural so that even in this respect everything was in order.

#### New Presidential Election System

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 15 May 87 p 13

[Article: "Government Defines President's Power, Definitions Desired by Koivisto Are By-Product of Direct Election"]

[Text] Prime Minister Harri Holkeri (Conservative Party) and his government are linking the definition of presidential powers to the accomplishment of a two-phase direct election by the people in the 1994 presidential elections.

The government made a decision on this matter on Thursday at the same time that it decided not to act hastily in presenting a bill concerning a direct election to parliament. Thus the proposal for a new election method will not become effective before next January's presidential elections.

What will be taken away from the president's powers is still open. Nevertheless, it became clear on Thursday that a direct election will have as a by-product a defining law, which will eliminate powers at least with respect to those sections which President Mauno Koivisto himself has wanted to be eliminated.

The government reached a unanimous decision on that matter after giving it consideration overnight. The pressures which had been slowly building in the Conservative Party for presenting an immediate proposal disappeared in the government for fear that hastily compiled legislation could become a "wolf".

An immediate proposal would also have meant that it would have become necessary to move the presidential elections and inauguration day from January to March. Thus the matter would have acquired the peculiar taste of an emergency or enabling act, which the government did not want.

The ruling parties are fervently unanimous about the implementation of direct elections, but views on the reduction of powers are conflicting in the government as well as in the opposition.

#### Ambiguous Communique

The ambiguous communique issued by the government portends future arm-twisting.. "The presidential election method also includes questions of principle in the relations of higher state organs," stated the communique.

According to Minister Matti Louekoski, the Justice Ministry is already preparing a definition of presidential powers. He did not predict what the law will contain.

Holkeri, who gave assurances of the government's unanimity at a press conference, also did not take a more precise stand on the definition of powers.

Louekoski thought that if parliamentary elections are held normally in 1991, a direct election will have all the chances of being implemented in the 1994 presidential elections.

Louekoski also considered it possible that legislation defining powers will also be enacted in 1994. The intent is to run the package through a slow timetable or it will have to be approved by two parliaments.

Louekoski said the ministry is adopting President Koivisto's views as a guideline in the preparation of the definition of powers.

Koivisto has frequently declared his desire to take away the president's power to dissolve parliament in cases other than the resolution of a long-term crisis and to dissolve the government if it has the confidence of parliament and if it has not requested this action itself. This so-called Lex Koivisto was up for consideration already at the initiative of the president's chancery in the constitutional package, which has been tabled.

#### Center Party Not Being Doubted

Louekoski said that he had discussed the election question with Center Party Chairman Paavo Vayrynen and he emphasized that he has no reason to doubt the Center Party's sincerity.

The Center Party declared its support for a direct election after the elections, but established a definition of powers as a price. The Center Party has not precisely determined which powers it would limit.

Louekoski said that the conditions of the opposition will be considered in the preparations. The SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] and the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] are giving a cautious yellow light to direct elections, but they would take away some presidential powers with the same vigorous hand.

On Thursday, the SKDL submitted a private bill for considerable limits on presidential powers. According to it, the president's rights to dissolve parliament and appoint a prime minister would be transferred to parliament.

According to the bill, the president could not, as is the case now, refuse to sign a bill adopted by parliament. The power to issue an executive order and the appointment of higher officials would be transferred to the government. In foreign policy the government would obligate the president to observe the decision of parliament and the government.

The Conservative Party has promoted the idea of limiting presidential terms to 2 years and transferring the election of prime minister to parliament.

## The Wind Changed

The wind behind an immediate proposal changed in the government in a short time.

On the eve of May Day, Holkeri announced that the government is ready to implement a direct election next year already. On Thursday, Holkeri said that "we no longer hold this view".

After the elections, Constitutional Committee Chairman Ben Zyskowicz (Conservative Party) made it clear in parliament that it would be possible to push through a new law immediately while, on the other hand, then Justice Minister Christoffer Taxell (Swedish People's Party) considered the plan to be impossible. The new speaker, Matti Ahde (Social Democrat) was still ready last week to extend the work of the constitutional committee through the summer. Louekoski went to see Koivisto on Monday.

The Conservative Party was satisfied with the government's solution, but the group felt that there will be a fuss over the matter unless a bill is before parliament in the fall.

Louekoski promised that the matter will have undergone extensive consideration before the presidential elections. According to the communique, "the proposal will be prepared without delay and will be submitted to parliament".

Holkeri admitted that the parties have rushed a direct election for next year already, but that their goals are secondary because of the careful preparation required by the reform.

Holkeri appealed to parliament to approve the constitutional package, which was promptly tabled. According to the election system proposal contained in it, citizens will vote for a presidential as well as an electoral candidate. If no single candidate receives more than half the votes, the election will be conducted by the electoral college as before. Voters will have two ballots at their disposal.

## Paper Assesses Election Changes

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 15 May p 2

[Editorial: "Toward a New Constitutional Package"]

[Text] With the cooperation of Prime Minister Harri Holkeri an incomprehensibly frivolous drama was developed out of the reform of the presidential election system in the atmosphere of excitement after the elections. It was high time for the government to bring an end to this.

The nomination of candidates for next January's presidential elections has progressed rather far already. By law candidates must be nominated by the middle of October. Parliament will have to hurry in order to bless the constitutional package adopted by the previous parliament and the presidential election reform contained in it in time.

In his first press conference the new prime minister promised that the government will do its best to elect a president in an even more democratic manner in January, by a direct two-phase election. It has only just now dawned on him and all the ruling parties that there is no way that a new constitution can be prepared, negotiated, and approved by parliament in 4 months. This could only be accomplished in a crisis situation or some other emergency situation, to which we have resorted too frequently even otherwise in connection with the election of a president.

There is not even any domestic examples of a direct two-phase election. The French model is not directly applicable to us. For example, we consider it important to protect the rights to a best possible advance voting system. This is predicated on the fact that the interval between the first and second round of voting must definitely be longer than France's 2 weeks. But how and what are its drawbacks? The question must be clarified.

A direct two-phase presidential election would, without a doubt, correspond better with the present wishes of the majority of citizens than the current indirect election or the two-phase mixed procedure contained in the constitutional reform. Therefore, the promise contained in the government program to change the election system is justified.

However, the government should have understood the complexity of the question in terms other than the technicalities of the law and a timetable. It also concerns the president's position and his relationship with other higher state organs, as was conceded in the government's communique on Thursday.

Now that the urgency has suddenly subsided, the government will be able to emphasize a careful preparation of the bill. The president's powers, which are being slightly limited in the constitutional reform now waiting for a final blessing, will have to be reexamined.

President Koivisto has several times taken the view that the president should not have the right to ask for the resignation of a government which enjoys the confidence of parliament or its individual members. Also the president should not be able to dissolve parliament except in connection with a long-term and serious political crisis.

These additional restrictions of presidential powers would strengthen the parliamentary aspects of our system. Also in this connection it would be possible to address the question of limiting presidential terms to 2 years, which was left out of the constitutional package. The experts are of differing opinions on these questions not to mention the political parties.

The intended quick reform of the presidential election system is automatically expanding into a discussion of the new constitutional package. Since the reform may be forgotten as far as the next presidential elections are concerned, the interest of the parties in this issue may even wane. There is reason at this time to ensure the implementation of the constitutional reform adopted by the previous parliament and a new presidential election system.

## Holkeri Foreign Policy Viewed

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 15 May 87 p 13

[Editorial Roundup: "Kunto Kalpa and Interpretations of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Pact"]

[Excerpt] A writer who writes under the pseudonym of Kunto Kalpa in the Center Party's KESKISUOMALAINEN casts a foreign policy shadow over Harri Holkeri's government in his most recent article. Kunto Kalpa calls the government of the Conservative Party and the SDP "a new Honka League".

In addition, he considers that a new interpretation has been given to the YYA [Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid] Pact and the policy of neutrality in the government's program. The comment is peculiar in that the points in the government program concerning the YYA Pact and the policy of neutrality are in their content exactly the same as in the previous government's program.

Kunto Kalpa's initial remark about the government program is that if the full name of the YYA Pact cannot be written correctly, it is difficult to take anything else seriously either. (The government program refers to cooperation when it should be referring to joint action.) The writer continues:

"Also one cannot help but draw attention to the role which has been given to the YYA Pact. Previously, it was customary to make this agreement as the basis of Finland's foreign policy in government programs. Now it, apparently, only defines relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. Anyone who is versed in the nuances of our foreign policy knows that this is a question of an essential difference of interpretation. It is doubtful that one can place the blame on an occupational accident. The new foreign minister is, indeed, an experienced man.

"The third peculiar interpretation deals with the policy of neutrality. Kunto Kalpa has become accustomed to thinking that the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line is, specifically, the neutral policy line. Now, however, neutrality is not mentioned until the end of the foreign policy section where it has consciously been made subordinate to other sectors of our foreign policy."

Kunto Kalpa also deals extensively with President Mauno Koivisto's actions in the government negotiations and especially the explanations given by Koivisto.

"In spite of the explanations, the 'apparent logic' of the government solution has not seen the light of day," says the writer.

"After everything has been heard and read, one is left with the impression that the new Honka League, which has come about as the result of the present Gallup democracy, is an illegitimate child, whom no one will willingly admit as being his own. Responsibility is being thrown from one man and group to another.

"In order to avoid misunderstanding, let it be clearly said that the writer does not see any reason to criticize any more than praise the President's behavior and actions. Kunto Kalpa is among those who support strong presidential power, and thus, in his opinion, the chief of state has the right to put in place whatever government he considers best.

"But one must also accept responsibility for decisions, clearly and unequivocally. Now there has been a definite taste of explaining in Koivisto's positions, which has culminated in the selective public disclosure of tapes of discussions, which is inappropriate to the prestige of a president."

Kunto Kalpa concludes his evaluation of the reasons for the government solution as follows: "Until it is demonstrated to the contrary, Kunto Kalpa has the understanding that the solution was dictated by a tried and true lesson: divide and rule.

"From whom this came is another story."

10576

CSO: 3617/95



## GREENS SUFFER SERIES OF SETBACKS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Jun 87 p 12

[Article by Stefan Lundberg: "Serious Setbacks for Finland's Greens"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] The Green movement is just now going through a difficult setback in Finland. After the poor result in the parliamentary election, which was preceded by record-high figures in the polls, political observers are now talking about the rise and fall of the Greens.

When the Greens assembled last weekend for a big meeting in Lahtis 150 showed up. Previously this year the big meetings used to draw about 500. Discussions in Lahtis were considered to be both boring and pessimistic. The final result was that the big meeting rejected the idea of participation in the presidential election in January of next year. The press commented on this by saying that the air has gone out of the Greens.

In the most optimistic opinion polls before the election in March the Greens were promised up to nine percent. The election result was four, which won that many parliamentary seats.

## Internal Conflicts

"The reason is that we were not able to realize our support in the election," said the movement's big vote-getter MP Pekka Haavisto.

"Internal conflicts caused us not to have the best candidates in the election."

Haavisto does not believe the Greens will fall. He admits the setback--which is partly because no woman was elected--but he says that the opinion poll figures are again on the rise.

In any case sympathizers have been frustrated by many years of bickering about the organization's form and program. No official program exists, and the Greens have organized themselves into an association with a long list of contradictory member organizations, handicapped, feminists, etc.

## Nail in the Coffin

Unwillingness to participate in the presidential election is based on the fear that they are again getting confirmation that their support is weakening. According to many Greens this could be a nail in the coffin. Haavisto is more optimistic.

"If we run a woman in the election we would certainly get the support that the polls give us. She would of course be the only woman candidate."

Haavisto said that despite the unwillingness of the big meeting, discussions in the sauna indicate that serious consideration is being given to collecting the 20,000 names required to run a candidate. The Green delegation of MP's plus representatives of the member organizations will decide the question in August.

9287

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## 'LE PEN' EFFECT ON RPR, ELECTIONS EXAMINED

## Election Strategies

Paris L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI in French 21-27 May 87 pp 8-11

[Article by Serge Maury: "The Le Pen Effect Is Destabilizing the RPR"]

[Text] For a brief moment the Socialists were worried. Mrs Barzach's resolute remarks followed by Michel Noir's attack on the Lepenist arguments effectively caught them on the wrong foot.

While they were getting bogged down in petty politicking, the RPR suddenly threatened to rob them of the benefits of a frontal assault on the extreme right. A somber outlook indeed: The minister in charge of foreign trade might win over many followers in his own camp, manage to convince his party of the necessity to "satanize" the new leader of French neofascism and the National Front, reduced to 5 percent of the electorate, would cease to offer the Mitterrandist left its trump card for 1988...

The reason? Michel Noir had just discovered this evident truth: The only way to stop the Lepenist push was to unmask the candidates of the extremist right by branding them with the stamp of infamy of neofascist ideology...! As Giscard had put it: "We have been able to beat the left for 20 years by systematically affixing to its forehead the term "collectivist."

Until the day that the PC fell into the hole!

Noir merely noted that whatever held true for Stalinism also applies to the other. Could there be two weights, two scales? How could morality prevent anyone from calling a spade a spade, a Stalinist a Stalinist and a fascist a fascist?

Le Pen, for his part, is not in the least bothered: What, for example, did he have to say in answer to Mrs Barzach's arguments? That the RPR Minister of Health "was an accomplice in genocide" and that she followed the orders of the "financial lobby of the pornography market, sex shops and organizers of sexual tours." Did you say Goebbels? As for Noir, the National Front will take him to court. Which is one way of admitting that, as far as the national neofascists are concerned, any opposition to the Lepenist assertions must be

punished by the courts. Just as in Italy at the time of Mussolini. Therefore an action is brought. Did Alain Carignon briefly stick out his nose? "Another such statement," FN [National Front] deputy Bruno Gollnisch concluded, "and he will no longer be mayor of Grenoble!" While waiting for the transit camp? Polac, the "stinking hyena" did indeed return a rather awkward answer to the abuse. Stirbois' response: "He is hounding the National Front and its representatives the way Barbie hunted down Jews and members of the resistance."

The conclusion: Only Le Pen is supposed to have the right to treat his opponents as fascists. If anyone else accuses him--though each of his statements is a poor copy of prewar totalitarian phraseology--he displays a spirit of "exclusion." Chirac himself says so. And his spokesman Borotra repeats it. No ghetto! No anathema!

Isn't it odd? We believed to understand quite well why the communists, for example, had no place in a democratic community, and why the PS had disqualified itself by dealing with them. Who said that one should not dine with the devil--even using a long spoon? The same people who are now quite ready to share a cracker and cheese with the friends of Le Pen. Yvon Blot, for instance, RPR deputy and guiding spirit of the Clock Club, explains: "Mitterand would never have been president if he had not allied himself with the PC." Therefore, let us imitate him! That is also Charles Pasqua's view, who, in the words of one of the leaders of the National Front, would make "a good minister in a Le Pen Government."

Unfortunately--and Noir has realized that--quite apart from any question of ethics, the argument is wrong from the standpoint of tactics: At 10 percent, the National Front was bound to lose the elections for the right as soon as Chirac committed the idiocy of abandoning the proportional system of elections in order to return to elections on a majority basis. A good example was offered by last Sunday's district by-election in the Oise Department. In the first ballot, the left obtained only 45 percent of the vote; in the second round, though, the PS was elected with 55 percent of votes cast. Between the two ballots, voters on the extreme right defected, and many who had abstained before, had an antifascist reaction and mobilized for the PS.

Le Pen is credited with the intention of getting Chirac beaten and subsequently destroying the RPR so as to become the one and only chief of a huge nationalist and populist right.

In fact, even if Le Pen does not wish to provoke the failure of the mayor of Paris, he will all the same represent a formidable obstacle on the latter's road to success.

First of all because some among the electorate (about a quarter) are gut nay sayers, professional grouchers, systematic malcontents and, in the second ballot, will prefer to rejoin the opposition--even on the left--rather than vote for the party in power--even on the right (that is what happened in the Oise Department). Also and above all because the leader of the extreme right is not going to offer his votes for nothing. He will exact a proper alliance.

In that case, the slightest concession made him will provoke a reaction--a shift of votes from the center to the left.

He therefore threatens to lose the election for the right--whether he refuses to cooperate or whether he allies himself with it. Elections on a majority basis offers him that tremendous opportunity: He will use it.

Paradoxically the only possibility for the Chirac majority to avoid becoming a hostage of Jean-Marie Le Pen would be that of "satanizing" him, just as Noir proposed, or to reestablish the proportional ballot which allows everybody to be elected on the basis of his very own proposals--without a second ballot and, therefore, without alliances or compromises.

Want to be extra smart? That is what Jean-Claude Gaudin set to do in Marseilles. To mollify the right and get their votes, he offered them everything and promised everything. On the one hand he admitted them to the Regional Council, on the other he made some of Le Pen's proposals his own while, at the same time, certifying Le Pen as a good democrat. The result? Gaudin is about to crumble. Ground between Pezer, the local socialist leader who exploits every single one of his deals, and the Lepenist mayoral candidate Pascal Arrighi who insists on stronger and stronger guarantees, he is about to have both his wings clipped, lose his leaves and his feathers and get ripped to shreds altogether. And poor Gaudin, little by little stripped of his claim to be the challenger, reduced to being on the defensive, destabilized by his own weakness, sees the much coveted mayoralty slip from his grasp.

The PS leaders have been in a jubilant mood. Michel Noir and Michele Barzach had given them a nasty fright. Thanks to Pasqua they now know that Chirac will certainly not be president.

Still, the Socialists are not necessarily the best equipped for giving lessons in citizenship. When Roland Dumas recalls "the rise of Hitlerism," he forgets rather too conveniently that he agreed to be elected president of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee with the votes of the National Front. Exactly like Giscard!

When boasting of their firm principles, Jospin's friends would enjoy altogether more credibility if they were to avoid playing to the crowd at the CGT's communist demonstrations and risking to be shouted down.

Listening to them one by one mounting the rostrum, we get the impression that the PS hierarchy is less concerned with opposing Le Pen or favoring a common antifascist front than with squeezing to the last drop the contradictions within the RPR--at the risk of weakening or compromising those liberals or followers of Chirac, who had the courage to ridicule the devil.

More than that, an ideological debate requires a maximum of intellectual honesty. It is useful and urgently necessary to demonstrate the inherently fascist nature of the Lepenist argument (even if it represents a reactionary deviation from original fascism), because that is the absolute truth. However, it is excessive and shameful to compare Pasqua with Barbie on the pretext that the Minister of the Interior has mentioned the possibility of

expelling illegal immigrants by rail... Indeed, any excess in the anti-right polemic risks being considered inordinate even as regards unanswerable arguments against the extreme right.

A centrist reformer should speak up here. We would need 100 Stasis. Unfortunately, once more the social democrats are allowing authentic Gaullists to rob them of the palm of the resistance. The Lecanuet complex is not dead-- we all know that the mayor of Rouen knows only the devil on the left and remember the aberrations to which this optical illusion has led in the past...

The communists, for their part, are yelling as usual...without of course considering the heavy responsibility they bear in this matter. Who, after all, demoralized a large section of the electorate by intoxicating it with infantile analyses, demagogic proposals and malevolent dialectics? Who has systematically practiced expulsion, the rejection of any dissent, the refusal to engage in debate? Who has systematically defended the most Poujadist rancors and the most conservative refusals? How can anyone be surprised that some communist voters have joined the National Front, just as they joined Doriot in the past?

At the present time a neofascist current has seduced some 12 percent of the French. That is the highest percentage in the entire democratic world.

The only possible answer is a common front of democrats. Of all democrats. Beyond any distinction of sensitivities. And solidarity of action against the devil...

And, subsequently, the elaboration of economic, social and cultural projects (with liberal social democratic overtones), likely to remobilize all creative energies in our country.

#### Noir's Destabilizing Action

Paris L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI in French 21-27 May 87 pp 12-14

[Article by Nicolas Domenach: "How Chirac Chose Pasqua Against Noir"]

[Text] For a few hours Michel Noir seriously thought about resigning. Brutally disavowed by Jacques Chirac in his stand against the National Front, the Minister of Foreign Trade was on the point of taking an irrevocable step...until his Tuesday afternoon meeting with Edouard Balladur who had been transformed into the government's mediator.

The No 2 in the Chirac Government preached reconciliation. A counselor of the Minister of Foreign Trade revealed that "he explained to Michel that, if he went, at least six of his colleagues would have to follow him, because they had supported his stand." Obviously there can be no question of such a crisis. But why on earth has Chirac come down so hard on Noir?

"This nonsense must be stopped..." Was Chirac furious? Very furious indeed. And with good reason: While he was getting rid of the soviets in the country, his majority was splitting again, in fact tearing itself to pieces about the

strategy to be adopted toward Le Pen. In the RPR especially, people were slashing away at one another. The very government supposed to be hard at work and nothing but hard at work according to the strategy painfully arrived at at the end of last winter, in fact reverberated only to the sound of verbal slaps dealt out by the ministers among themselves.

Oh yes, the premier had every right to be in a foul mood. And his advisers to be even more upset. With Michel Noir especially. The Matignon had once before been compelled to apologize for the "anti-Soviet (statements) by the Minister of Foreign Trade." And now, in the middle of the Russian Campaign, this last (of the last?) launched his Franco-French firecracker: "It is better to lose the elections than to lose one's soul by coming to terms with Le Pen and his ideas." A courageous politico-moral attitude to adopt, and it made even more of a stir than the similar statement by Malhuret. After all, Malhuret is the official conscience and, as such, disqualified to some extent: He is too "saintly." While Noir, for his part, rekindled a political debate that the Matignon would have much preferred to stifle.

Pursued by French reporters across Red Square and along the corridors of the Kremlin, Chirac kept silent about the affair. A very special silence, teeth clenched and eyes full of murderous fury. The kind of silence he keeps with the utmost constraint when his hot temper threatens to explode. He would not say anything at all. His advisers would speak for him. They would repeat that "Chirac has said quite enough against the National Front," that, unlike Barre, he had not received Le Pen nor, unlike Giscard, had written to him." Once and for all, "the prime minister had firmly settled the question--there would be no alliance." To start all this over again would simply mean "playing Mitterand's game. Especially now that the policy 'Let us all get to work and quit fighting' has been abandoned.

"Playing Mitterand's game..." That reproach, directed at Noir, was expressed "off the record" but soon after became "on the record," because--in the course of many interviews--the RPR minister has not hidden his esteem for the president of the Republic. This caused some suspicion and later a rumor to be spread by various Chirac minions, according to which "he has switched." And in order to prevent him from "treason," some people in Lyons are pushing forward young Alain Merieux, heir to the laboratories, and a satisfactory choice for succeeding Collomb in the mayoralty.

But that is another story and takes away from the real motivation of Michel Noir, whose father was deported and who, even as a student, battled Le Pen and his commandos. The nasty insinuations nevertheless served to annoy Chirac who definitely did not need further aggravation. After all, on top of his uneasy trip to those "odd bozos who nowadays get their clothes from Cardin," he was confronted with falling economic indicators, tumbling stock exchange quotations and--according to a SOFRES public opinion poll still unpublished--a sharp decline in his personal popularity. As someone in his close entourage put it, "he was hopping mad" at the beginning of this week.

On Europe I, Monday morning, a livid Chirac spoke through clenched teeth and uttered words meant to sound heavy like lead: "I will not be dragged into a commitment by some polemic or other...I need to deal with far too many really

serious problems...I for one work hard..." So much for Noir, Juppe and also Malhuret who saw themselves sent back to their ministries. Made to stand in the corner. Only Pasqua has the right and indeed the duty to gambol. And to even better knock the snipers, Chirac reminded us of the "serious and reasonable French." Thanks to this sound people there is no danger, and those who are crying wolf are simply ridiculous and know nothing about the real France...

Noir persisted and signed nevertheless--unwavering. For him and his lesser comrades this is no longer a time to remain silent and, on Europe 1, Tuesday morning, when he had been disavowed by Pasqua and the RPR apparatus as well as by his president, he stuck to his convictions...before going to "Monsavon" house, otherwise known as Matignon [play on words: mon savon--my soap]. Noir had been summoned to have his mouth washed out by Chirac "who was determined to blow the whistle for the end of the recreation period," as Jean-Jacques Peretti, one of the premier's confidants put it.

In short, Noir was not at the Matignon to look at the parade but to be told off. And told off he was. The windows shook. Chirac, hopping mad, accused him of overemphasizing Le Pen's importance, of failing to understand that he, Chirac, needed Le Pen's votes to win, and that it is therefore necessary to cajole his voters, not put their backs up.

To the members of his government whom he had invited and later to the leaders of the majority, assembled for their weekly luncheon, the Prime Minister repeated the tenor of the above, without shouting this time. "It is imperative to finish with the suggestion for expulsions and rejection," he said to his ministers in an intervention--call to order, following which he refused any discussion. This was the surest method for demonstrating the unity he had so imperiously demanded. And so that this should be perfectly clear, he was even more specific: "Anyone who has moods and desires to express them should simply leave the government..." Those assembled heard an angel fly past, an angel with heavy, very heavy wings, and they felt Pasqua smile discreetly, very discreetly. He was modestly triumphant...The Minister of the Interior would indeed have been entitled to be even more joyful, because his policy won the day. A brusque shift, because this is the first time that Chirac is cajoling Le Pen and, specially, his voters. At that point some liberal ministers understood why Pasqua, after having been asked to avoid public mention of the image of a train carrying away illegal immigrants, an idea he had expressed to them in private, had after all persisted in just such a public mention. It was simply part of the policy adopted: Not to seek an alliance with Le Pen but to capture his voters by continuing with the development of a symbolic gesture evoking security.

But will not the middle-of-the-road electorate desert to the left as it certainly seems to do now each Sunday at by-elections? Pasqua believes that, with some social measures thrown in the scale, Chirac ought to win at all levels. Especially if he manages at the same time to conclude a gentleman's agreement with Barre, because this would freeze out the leader of the National Front. Consequently, provided that everybody works at his job, the voters of the majority will be well guarded...



This is how Chirac tried to regain his grip. However, he is far from having restored serenity and unity among the officials of the majority. Some have told him (and are going to tell him again soon) that "his policy of aloofness is suicidal." Leotard and Malhuret, for instance, will not keep quiet: They think that "Chirac will lose if he listens to Pasqua, just as happened at the time of the student movement in December." They continue "trying to reconcile the goat and the cabbage means he will paint himself into a corner."

Chirac does not yet realize that problems cannot be solved by sitting on them. Our two liberal ministers think, like Michel Noir, that "our only chance of winning--and it is minimal because the hour is very late--consists in fighting the National Front, to isolate it. Just as the PC had been in the 1970's. If not, the extreme right will prevent the right from winning, just as the extreme left kept the left from power for many years.

It is time to go on the offensive. Oddly enough, those who are convinced that this is so are the stars of the "Pampers generation": Leotard, Malhuret, Noir and also Juppe, Barzach, Carignon, and so on. Admittedly, all of them are less preoccupied with the presidential elections than their elders. And therefore they are more concerned with ethics. However, this has not prevented a senior liberal minister from advising his colleagues: "Keep quiet, let the RPR disentangle itself from Le Pen because, after all, that's its problem, and it is nowhere near finding a solution."

But, stamped by the antitotalitarian fight, this new generation is just as anti-Lepenist as it is anti-Soviet. And it is not ready to renounce a vigorous counterattack, while their seniors--Pons, Pasqua, Labbe, Messmer, et al--would prefer to cajole the voters on the extreme right to better circumvent them. Consequently--as the debate has not really concluded, just as it was not concluded in 1983 and 1986, it will resurface and cause more damage. Even if Chirac should threaten to lose his temper again.

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## LIST OF FOREIGN PARTICIPANTS IN KKE CONGRESS

Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 9 May 87 p 3

/Text/ As indicated by the number and rank of foreign delegations from throughout the world that will attend the 12th KKE Congress, this congress will constitute an international forum of communist and other progressive forces for peace and social progress.

The communist parties of the socialist countries of Europe will be represented at the congress by high-ranking delegations headed by well-known communist party cadres such as the following: Mikhail Solomenchev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Party Control Committee; Milko Balev, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo and central committee secretary; Herman Axen, member of the United Socialist Party of Germany Politburo and central committee secretary; Peter Colotka, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and prime minister of Slovakia; Jozef Cirek, member of the Polish United Workers Party Politburo and central committee secretary; Miklos Obari, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Politburo and central committee secretary; Neculai Constantin, member of the Romanian Communist Party political executive committee, central committee member and chairman of the central committee college; Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the presidium of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Heading other delegations are the party secretaries general, such as the following: Ezekias Papaioannou of the AKEL, Haydar Kutlu of the Turkish Communist Party, Aziz Muhammad of the Iraqi Communist Party and other high-level guidance cadres.

Up to now, the following organizations and parties have announced that they would attend the 12th KKE Congress:

1. CPSU: Mikhail Sergeyevich Solomenchev, politburo member and chairman of the Party Control Committee; Yegor Semenovich Stroyev, central committee member and first secretary of the Orlov region; Yuri Andreyevich Krasin, dean of the central committee's Institute of Social Sciences.

2. Bulgarian Communist Party: Milko Balev, politburo member and central committee secretariat; Nikolai Diulgerov, central committee member and first secretary of the Sofia region; Nikolov Chvietan, alternate central committee member and alternate director of the International Relations Division.
3. United Socialist Party of Germany: Herman Axen, politburo member and central committee secretary; H. Lehman, alternate of the central committee's fourth division; R. Krause, associate of comrade O. Weisshaupt, associate of the central committee's fourth division.
4. Czechoslovak Communist Party: Peter Colotka, politburo member and prime minister of Slovakia; Yota Bouha, alternate director of the central committee's division on social organizations; Yaromir Vitasek, member of the International Relations Division.
5. Polish United Workers Party: Jozef Cirek, politburo member and central committee secretary; Jozef Kustra, responsible for the International Relations Division ; Andrej Pigot, Comrade Cirek's secretary.
6. Hungarian Socialist Workers Party: Miklos Obari, politburo member and central committee secretary; Soba Poli, member of the International Relations Division; Christoforos Athanasiou, translator; Miklos Berenzasi, associate.
7. Union of Communists of Yugoslavia: Vasil Tupurkovski, presidium member; Dusko Bogdanovic.
8. Romanian Communist Party: Neculai Constantin, member of the central committee's political executive committee and chairman of the central committee college; Kostatsi Tsubotaru; Ratu Gheorghe.
9. Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party: Purevzanin Bold, central committee member, first secretary of Darhan; Ereto Zagarin, head of a central committee division.
10. Communist Party of Cuba: Jorge Risket, politburo and secretariat member; Abelardo Alvarez, central committee member; Alida Garcia, central committee division official; Armando Garcia, International Relations Division official.
11. Communist Party of China: Jian Kang Zheng, ambassador to Athens.
12. Workers Party of Korea: Chi-ch'an Yi, central committee member, secretary general of the Central People's Committee, deputy; Pok-son Yun, member of the International Relations Division; Kim Yun Do, member of the International Relations Division.
13. Communist Party of Vietnam.
14. People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia: Soya Sip Hon, alternate central committee member, first trade union vice president; Thiounn Kheng, member of the International Relations Division.

15. Workers Party of Ethiopia: Dessiye Guobesese, central committee and secretariat member; Ingu-Bahri Siferu, head of the International Relations Division.
16. People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan: Mir Saneb Karbal, alternate politburo and central committee secretariat member.
17. French Communist Party: Rene Le Gen, politburo member; Claude Derec, member of the International Relations Division.
18. AKEL /Restorative Party of the Working People/; Ezekias Papaioannou, AKEL secretary general; Dinos Konstandinou, politburo and central committee secretariat member; Angelos Kazandzis, central committee member.
19. Portuguese Communist Party: Angelo Beloso, politburo member.
20. Communist Party of Turkey: Haydar Kutlu, central committee secretary general; Oktay Kaya, politburo member.
21. Yemen Socialist Party: Sa'id Askir 'Abdallah, central committee member; Husayn Nasir Halawi, member of the International Relations Division.
22. Ba'ath-Syria: Adun Filo, central committee member; Viktor Mahdi Dahlala, responsible official of the International Contacts Division.
23. St Marino Communist Party: Fiorini Mauro, central committee member.
24. Egyptian Communist Party: Mahdi Muhamed Kamal, politburo member.
25. Communist Party of Argentina: Lanao Jose Maria, central committee member.
26. Socialist Party of Australia: Brian Runey, central executive committee member.
27. Communist Party of Austria: Franz Hanger, politburo member.
28. Communist Party of Belgium: Jan Debruver, politburo member.
29. Communist Party of Bolivia: Ramirez Umberto.
30. Brazilian Communist Party: Ribero Granza Antonio, central committee member.
31. German Communist Party: Irmgard Bobrizik, presidium member.
32. People's Progressive Party of Guyana: Donald Ramotar, central executive committee member.
33. Communist Party of Denmark: Roshu Bo, politburo member; Smit Ole.
34. United Socialist Party of West Berlin: Stefan Isense, central committee member, chief editor of a theoretical journal.

35. Communist Party of Ecuador: Jose Regato, central committee member.
36. Communist Party of the United States: Simon Gherson, central committee secretary.
37. Communist Party of India: N.D. Suntrigal, national council member.
38. Jordanian Communist Party.
39. Iraqi Communist Party: 'Aziz Muhammad, central committee secretary general; Habib.
40. Tudeh Party-Iran: Siassi Jilla, alternate politburo member.
41. Communist Party of Ireland: William Somersen, central committee member.
42. Communist Party of Spain: Lucio Lubado, chairman of the control committee.
43. Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain: Bagieteros Haime, politburo member.
44. Communist Party of Israel: Gamal Musa, politburo member.
45. Italian Communist Party: Ariema Iginio, central committee member; Claudio Lingas, member of the International Relations Division (responsible for West Europe).
46. Workers Party of Jamaica: Ellen Thomas, politburo member.
47. Communist Party of Canada: Mel Doyke, central executive committee member and secretary.
48. Lebanese Communist Party: Yusef Murdada, alternate politburo member.
49. Progress-Socialism Party of Morocco: Dugeb, politburo member.
50. National Liberation Front of Bahrain: 'Ali Nagi 'Abdallah.
51. United Socialist Party of Mexico: Raymondo Cardenas, politburo member; Dora Canussi, member of the International Relations Division.
52. SWAPO-Namibia: Bernard Cambi, SWAPO representative in Romania.
53. South African Communist Party: Essor Pahad.
54. African National Congress: Red September, member of the national executive committee.
55. PLO: Zaharia 'Abd al-Rahim, director of a PLO political division; Sami Sarhan, director of a PLO organization; Tynida Anwar Akra, PLO diplomatic adviser in Athens.

56. Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine: Jalil Hilal, member of the central committee's International Relations Division.
57. Communist Party of Paraguay: Hugo Cambos, member pf the central committee's political committee.
58. POLISARIO Front of the Arab People's Republic of Sahrawi: Muhammad Sidati, politburo member, minister for European affairs; Ahmad Malaini, representative in Greece.
59. Communist Party of El Salvador: Ricardo Rivera.
60. "Faribundo Marti" Front--El Salvador: Manuel Corneho.
61. Communist Party of the Sudan: Sulayman Hamid al-Hak, central committee secretary.
62. Workers Party of Communists of Sweden: Ron Peterson.
63. Syrian Communist Party.
64. Independence and Workers Party of Senegal: Gaiy.
65. Tunisian Communist Party: Jenaydi 'Abd al-Jawad, politburo member.
66. Communist Party of Finland: Oiva Byorbaka, central committee secretary.
67. Communist Party of Finland (United): Taisto Sinisalo, chairman; Pirko Turpeinen, politburo member.
68. Communist Party of Chile: Jorge Mendes, politburo member.
69. PES: Chukasof, periodical responsible secretary.
70. National Progressive Grouping--Egypt: Husayn Fahmi, central secretariat member.
71. Dominican Communist Party: Suli Sano, central committee member.
72. Communist Party of Indonesia: Sutiman.
73. Communist Party of the Philippines: Jose Lava, politburo member.
74. Party of Progress and Socialism of Algeria: Ali Malki, central committee member.
75. Communist Party of Norway.
76. Palestinian Communist Party.

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## CDA'S KREMERS ON LIFE, VIEWS, CHARACTER, FUTURE

Amsterdam DE TIJD in Dutch 1 May 87 pp 54-61

[Interview with Sjeng Kremers, governor of Limburg Province, by Huub Oosterhuis: "Governor Sjeng Kremers. 'The CDA Should Have Three Antennas out for Justice'"; date, place, and occasion not given; first paragraph is DE TIJD introduction]

[Text] "The day the CDA no longer is organically concerned about the weaker members of society, I'll leave the party." He has been (among other things) professor of structural psychology, chairman of the Governing Board of the Catholic University of Nijmegen, chairman of the Scientific Council for Government Policy, and chairman of the National Pastoral Council, and along with Ed van Thijn informateur for the second Van Agt cabinet. Now he has been in Limburg for 10 years as provincial governor. "Most people here have quite enough power of discernment that even high-ranking gentlemen like the monseigneur and the governor can't put anything over on them." A probing conversation.

"I played trumpet. Even won first prize in a competition, as soloist. Not in an orchestra, all by myself. I was 16. First prize in the third division -- know what the certificate said? 'Just keep on studying.'"

"I like music. When I'm feeling cheerful, relaxed, it's Mozart and others like him. When it's time to administer, it's Johann Sebastian Bach: a stern measure."

[Oosterhuis] What kind of boy were you?

[Kremers] "Secondary school was a disaster; the old-style high school, in Heerlen with the Franciscans. A village boy in the city, feeling full of inferiority. Didn't advance to the next class normally once, always had special assignments, retook exams, conditional passes. In the third class I had a 3 for conduct and a 3 for effort, so I must have been an appalling lout. Most of the time I sat to the back of the class, the middle row; could see everything."

"I went to Nijmegen to study psychology in 1951. The first 3/4 of the year I

just plodded along. Then Rutten came back. He'd been minister of education, resumed his position as professor of general social industrial psychology. He was going to give his first course, came in the lecture hall, and right away he had me, in some undefinable way. And that's how it stayed. And he was interested in me --incredible. That man convinced me that I could do something. I was worth something. From that moment on I always got 'cum laude.'"

[Oosterhuis] You knew Buytendijk too, didn't you?

[Kremers] "Certainly did, I 'dwelt' a long time with him --he taught us to 'dwell on things.' I rebelled against him violently. At a seminar he gave one of his famous, fantastic talks --he was great. Afterwards I got into a debate with him, which was unheard of, you know, totally unheard of. I was one of the ringleaders of a group of young psychologists opposed to the one-sidedness of the phenomenological method in psychology. We thought it was degenerating --by the way, I got outstanding grades from Buytendijk too, much to my surprise. We all fell into an almost extreme behaviorism on the rebound, the quantifiable, experimental method, and all went to the United States."

[Oosterhuis] You became Rutten's assistant and got your doctorate with a "quantifiable, experimental" research project?

[Kremers] "After my national service (I was a motor- transport officer in the artillery, with no drivers license!), I wrote a dissertation, appallingly fast, my God, inhuman. It was a detour into intuitive psychology, a study of whether and how and to what degree an academic study in psychology affects human knowledge, your practical view of people; well, not at all, it was humiliating, you know. DE VOLKSKRANT said that 'a science that can permit itself a dissertation like this is beginning to mature.'"

"By then I was married and had two children and Rutten said, 'You've got to get away.' So I went to Berkeley. I was there in '60-'61, fantastic; what happened in the Netherlands in '68 was happening there then. Halfway through '61 I got a letter from Rutten: 'We're going to set up a whole new department here, a new laboratory; you've got to come set it up, under me.' After a lot of to-ing and fro-ing I said yes, went to visit the most important American psychology departments, and back in Nijmegen I worked out a plan in 3 months, and it was carried out exactly, down to the last closet. I've got to tell you that story. I designed a building with 800 rooms, with everything: experimental areas for animals, a complete day-care center for preschoolers, machine room; for the Netherlands, for Europe, it was beyond your wildest dreams. It was a logical whole, you couldn't alter it, you took it as it was or you didn't take it, I'd drawn it all out."

[Oosterhuis] All by yourself.

[Kremers] "Completely by myself. Rutten was totally at a loss but submitted it to what was then the College of Curators (now it's called the Governing Board). There they were with that thick book, oh my, and didn't know what to do about it, and Rutten said, 'If I were minister of education, that would



never go through, but, well, young people think anything is possible today.' When we were outside again, I said, 'Either you do it, without me, or I do it.' 'Just do it by yourself,' he said. He never got involved with it again."

"A month later the good gentlemen were still moaning and groaning but they were willing to give me the benefit of the doubt, provided I got it through The Hague --Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Education, State Construction Service-- myself. 'Outstanding,' I said. When the thing was almost ready, democratization broke out."

[Oosterhuis] Was "the thing" occupied, by intuitive psychologists?

[Kremers] "No, sir, it was opened right in the middle of all the to-do. By then I'd become a professor, in '65, in functional psychology, with a big section, today they call it a 'research group'; staff of 12, guys my own age. I had the most collegial or friendly or whatever relations with them. I never made decisions by myself; that was unusual; in other sections the professor made all the decisions. What took a revolution for some people seemed perfectly obviously normal to me."

"I really did believe in that democratization and went at it with everything I had. Veringa, the minister of education at the time, was preparing a new law but we couldn't wait for that in Nijmegen because the place was ripping and splitting at the seams. The College of Curators (it met once a month on Saturday morning!) decided to name one curator delegate, a full-timer, somebody from inside the university. New crisis: the Right wants somebody, the Left wants somebody. I was the favorite for everybody on the Left. The Left also included people like Hugh Boekraad and Ton Regtien --their views of society, Marxist and otherwise, were not for me at all; I wanted to transform the university into an open workplace for equals, so that afterwards everybody could have their own philosophy."

[Oosterhuis] Who was the candidate for the Right?

[Kremers] "Van Melsen, the older Andy. The place was about to split. At doctoral ceremonies, when we went to put on our robes, half the professors wouldn't shake my hand; the other half wouldn't shake Van Melsen's hand."

[Oosterhuis] You didn't shake each other's hand, either?

[Kremers] "We did; we didn't have anything against each other; nor was there that antithesis between us that others thought there was. I wrote a letter to the curators: 'Be reasonable; don't name one, name two. And Van Melsen is older so make him the chairman.' So we became full-time administrators for the university; we worked out a new administrative structure: three curators, three professors, three members of the staff, three students, three from the rest of the personnel, majority and minority positions, and for everything announce exactly who is for it and who is against it; incredible, great."

[Oosterhuis] And you became chairman of the new body.

[Kremers] "Yes. Hugh Boekraad, who was very important at that time, wrote in the NIJMEEGS UNIVERSITEITSBLAD (NUB): 'Since we've got that strange psychologist in there, they're not making mistakes any more.'"

[Oosterhuis] And you took leave from your professorship and scholarship?

[Kremers] "My scholarly period didn't last very long at all but I did accomplish things. With the staff I had attracted I cranked up some research projects that turned out outstandingly. The psychology of language, for instance, and cognition; Nijmegen has a very good international reputation in those. Looking back, I think I find administrative work more satisfying than scholarly work."

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[Oosterhuis] Up through mid-December 1986 you were chairman of the Governing Board of the Catholic University. What does the "Catholic" mean, other than that the bishops influence appointments?

[Kremers] "The bishops only influence appointments in the Theology Department, which is also a church facility, where priests are trained. Other than that they don't get involved at all. And the 'Catholic' certainly doesn't mean that only Catholics can become a professor there. It involves the question of whether Nijmegen can maintain a Catholic documentation center, a Catholic study center, a major theology department. If the Psychology and Education and Medical Departments are in a position to give some thought to philosophy and to ideological questions, then they do so with caution. The soccer club doesn't need to be Catholic as far as I'm concerned. The philosophical coloring is important for hospitals and educational institutions, though."

[Oosterhuis] Are there important differences between the Catholic and Protestant philosophies of life?

[Kremers] "They're somewhat different traditions, separated churches, unfortunately; things could have been different. As far as I'm concerned I'd like to see them come together again as fast as possible."

[Oosterhuis] The Catholic University could just as well merge with the Free University?

[Kremers] "They already work together to a considerable degree, and that includes administrative matters. Maybe they will merge. I'm a strong supporter of the CDA, which is a merger of that kind. To me, the differences do not involve the heart of the matter; sociologically, they're still important, though. I'm sorry that Protestantism turned away from the Catholic trunk."

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[Oosterhuis] What is Catholic culture?

[Kremers] "The odor of the nest you were born into. Just to mention one thing. At one time reading DE TIJD newspaper was part of my Catholic culture, I wouldn't miss even one day --later the NRC HANDELSBLAD turned out to be a very respectable paper too. 'Nest odor' means belonging to one another, recognizing one another."

[Oosterhuis] Is the odor here Catholic or Limburg?

[Kremers] "On the South Holland islands it smells different, and Limburg Catholic culture is different than West Frisian, more cheerful."

[Oosterhuis] And that doesn't involve the heart of the matter? When people in Rotterdam or Amsterdam talk about Limburg, they soon say something like "typically Catholic." The NRC recently mentioned the "Catholic lobbying and haggling scene." Jan Blokker wrote in DE VOLKSKRANT about "the deceit scene in the Lands of the Generality [historical area that included Limburg]," but maybe he was just joking.

[Kremers] "I don't know what 'typically Catholic' means. Am I a typically Catholic politician? Was Piet de Jong? Van Agt? Marga Klompe? That 'scene' is no different here than in the rest of the Netherlands. And the RSV [Rijn-Schelde Verolme] wasn't in Limburg, nor was Ogem. I don't think what Blokker wrote was rubbish, I think it's scandalous."

[Oosterhuis] You come from a terribly Catholic nest?

[Kremers] "I didn't think it was terrible. I know that a lot of people of my age --I was born on May 10th, 1933; May 10th!-- are terribly frustrated by their Catholic past. I never had that, even though I can remember everything. Obviously I was blessed from a very early age with a talent for getting on. I think that's a blessing, it really is."

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[Oosterhuis] Are you pious?

[Kremers] "What's that?"

[Oosterhuis] Pious is when you light candles for Our Lady Star of the Sea.

[Kremers] "Never did that in my entire life. Now, my wife does, I respect her very much. I'm more introspective; I'm not one for outward signs. When I'd just been appointed governor and we had to go to The Hague for some very important talks, my wife went to the Star of the Sea and lit two candles. She said, 'A small one for you and a large one for Limburg.'"

[Oosterhuis] What did she mean by that?

[Kremers] "Something along the lines of, 'Kind of keep your eye on us from up there.'"

[Oosterhuis] Mary, in other words. Does she do that, do you think?

[Kremers] "I ask myself that but I don't think it's important. It can't do any harm; you just never know. It's a gesture of devotion, acknowledging that there's something outside you that's bigger than you. A few weeks ago we spent a weekend in Paris and went to the Russian Orthodox church there. I thought it was wonderful; even at the high point of the service everybody was going this way and that way through the church, kissing icons, lighting candles --the most democratic service I've ever attended. Beautiful and genuine. I thought, 'We're missing a lot in the Catholic Church.' I tell the Catholics of the Netherlands, 'Don't do away with the censer and keep the candles burning.' I was very deeply moved."

[Oosterhuis] Canon De Valk from Roermond told Sonja that "man is deeply lonely" and presented her with a cake in the shape of a church. He is the organizer of the evangelical campaign that the bishop of Roermond has announced. The idea is for Catholics to be proud of their faith again. Are you proud of your faith?

[Kremers] "'Proud' isn't a good word. I try to uphold it the best I can and do something with it as I fall and pick myself up again."

[Oosterhuis] What does "fall" mean here?

[Kremers] "For me, living the faith is a very tough job and I rarely have the feeling that I'm succeeding. 'Nothing human is alien to us.' I still haven't heard much about that campaign. What are they going to be doing?"

[Oosterhuis] Colorful tent meetings, billboards along the highways, torchlight marches, marksmen, brass bands.

[Kremers] "Marksmen and brass bands go over well here. I hope that doesn't enlarge the differences between the faithful in Limburg."

[Oosterhuis] You know it will.

[Kremers] "There is that risk. In Limburg, much to my regret and sorrow, we see the faithful arrayed in opposing camps."

[Oosterhuis] It's the bishop who sets them against one another. "Supporting the May 8th movement in fact means abandoning the path that Christ shows us and is," he wrote in the diocesan magazine.

[Kremers] "I acknowledge the bishop's right to preach the Gospel according to his lights. But I think that a church that lives the Gospel will be more encouraging and challenging than anything else."

[Oosterhuis] Can you do anything about it?

[Kremers] "Personally, I'd like to do all kinds of things about it. Given my position, I can't do anything about it. It's my duty to work for the separation of church and state and that's what I do."

[Oosterhuis] But you do have to bear witness to the Gospel, the bishop teaches. Everybody who's baptized and confirmed has to. How do you bear witness?

[Kremers] "I hope that people will see from my behavior that I take my principles seriously. Going out with sandwichboards isn't my style: superficial messages to chance passersby; I don't think the Gospel can be made understandable with just that, it needs other forms of contact too."

"A little while ago my wife and I were there when a good friend of ours died. Afterwards we told ourselves, 'Suppose one of us was in that situation tomorrow --I wouldn't know a priest I could spend that very last phase of my life with. I'd feel very inconvenienced.'"

[Oosterhuis] Does this church policy have any influence on society, say, through appointments to the governing boards of hospitals or schools?

[Kremers] "As far as I can see, little or none. I don't know what goes on inside a parish. At the provincial level, no influence at all. At the University of Maastricht, no influence at all."

"But an ecumenical movement like Dean Pelzer's in Maastricht --I've got the deepest respect for that. It's seen better days, by the way; people are getting discouraged, weary."

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[Oosterhuis] Aren't you one of the people who, in the bishop's words, "have taken leave of the teachings and leadership of the Church in heart and behavior"?

[Kremers] "Who determines whether somebody has taken leave? He determines that for himself. I would say so, anyway. I belong to the Church and want to do so. Although not everything that goes on in the Church is to my taste."

[Oosterhuis] The Church's condemnation of divorced people, unmarried people living together, homosexuals, for instance.

[Kremers] "As a Catholic I'm expected to reflect seriously on all that and to listen carefully. But my conscience tells me that what 'the' Church is preaching about that at this moment can't be the whole truth and in addition that it's gotten locked into a position. But I think the Church will grow out of that. I believe in the power of the Gospel."

[Oosterhuis] Do you go to church every week?

[Kremers] "Not every Sunday but most Sundays. I need it too. I go into a church deliberately for the chance to come to myself. On Good Friday I've been going for years now to the little church in Wahlwiller. I go for the wonderfully serene atmosphere of Aad de Haas's stations of the cross. In the 1950's people thought they were offensive and took them away. It was Monseigneur Gijzen who had them restored! As far as I know it was his own

doing and I respect that."

[Oosterhuis] When you gave up your position as chairman of the Governing Board of the Catholic University of Nijmegen you were given the highest papal decoration ever awarded in the Netherlands, Commander in the Order of Pius. Was Monseigneur behind that too?

[Kremers] "I don't know."

[Oosterhuis] Papal decorations are never awarded without the local bishop's understanding. Could that have something to do with church politics? Does he have secret plans for you?

[Kremers] "Ask him that. Maybe it was just his way of showing his great appreciation for the efforts made to maintain a Catholic university in Nijmegen."

[Oosterhuis] Do you have much contact with him?

[Kremers] "When I was appointed, I paid him a courtesy visit. After that I had one longer talk with him, at my house, at his request, and beyond that we meet on the usual occasions."

[Oosterhuis] You're all caution on the subject of Gijsen.

[Kremers] "Yes. Do you think that's strange?"

[Oosterhuis] Isn't he rather dangerous for the spiritual health of Limburg? Don't you think there's something sick about him and someone like Canon De Valk?

[Kremers] "Do you think so? You mustn't underestimate people here, you know. Most people have quite enough power of discernment that even high-ranking gentlemen like the monseigneur and the governor can't put anything over on them. Let's leave it at that."

[Oosterhuis] As governor of Limburg, could you not be a believer?

[Kremers] "Fortunately it isn't the case that they check on your church attendance here."

[Oosterhuis] Could you have a successor who says, "I'm no longer Catholic"?

[Kremers] "I'd regret that, there must be no misunderstanding on that point, because in this society that would not go over."

[Oosterhuis] A practising Catholic PvdA man or woman would do though?

[Kremers] "If that follows from the relationships among the parties, yes. But it hasn't come to that. Naturally, I hope it never will."

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[Oosterhuis] Your father was a mineworker?

[Kremers] "Yes, he worked underground, 37 years he went into the 'black hole.' A mineworker like Toorop drew."

[Oosterhuis] Were you ever afraid he wouldn't come back?

[Kremers] "No, never. I don't know why. Sometimes there were fatal accidents in the mine --our family lived with that risk. I don't worry when my children get into the car either. My father didn't even finish primary school, they altered his age on the records so he could go into the mines a few years sooner. He worked his way up to Master Cutter."

[Oosterhuis] Were you poor?

[Kremers] "We weren't hungry but life was frugal. We lived in a small house in a long row of them, on Kerk Street in Nieuwenhagen. When I was about to take my final exams, my father asked me, it was in the vegetable garden, 'What are you going to do?' I said, 'I'm going to the university.' He was shocked, it was too far beyond his comprehension. He was married to the mine. Then I told him, 'Listen, either I go to the university or I don't take the final exams.' My mother supported me, finally he accepted the idea."

"He refused to accept a scholarship for me: you took care of your own children --I've still got that from him. I studied there in Nijmegen under heavy pressure, didn't have warm food more than twice a week. I knew they were scrimping so I could study."

"I was done in 5 years and 4 months. My father had such a strict feeling of justice that over his lifetime he felt he had to give his other children the same amount of money as he had spent for my university studies. Just before he died he managed to do that."

[Oosterhuis] You've built a large, new provincial building; it cost 147.5 million guilders.

[Kremers] "I think that today the government in particular has a duty to leave monuments of culture behind. In the past there were individuals with money and they left behind castles and great country houses."

"There was also the Church, which built cathedrals. Now that we've brought about a tremendous levelling of incomes and wealth --and I'm for that from the bottom of my heart-- there's no longer anybody who can stand forth and create something monumental. The government can, though."

[Oosterhuis] You think the new provincial building is a cultural monument?

[Kremers] "We tried with a modest sum to add something to the architecture of Maastricht, with a great deal of respect for what had been built here in the past. You think 147.5 million guilders is a lot? The new city hall in The Hague is going to cost 300 million, I hear."

[Oosterhuis] You built on the water meadows of the Meuse. You know you can't build on water meadows in the Netherlands, don't you?

[Kremers] "No? Why not? The purpose of water meadows is to take up the water when the river is high. But you can't put a big new building like that in downtown Maastricht, it would have destroyed the skyline. So we thought, 'If it doesn't decrease the water capacity, sure you can build in the water meadows. So let's dig a channel, a little side arm of the Meuse.' It took a while before the officials in The Hague got used to the idea."

[Oosterhuis] And digging that channel created the little island that the part of the provincial building you reside in stands on.

[Kremers] "Like they say, 'Kremers governs from an island.' On old maps you'll see that there used to be a little island here, Sint Pieterseiland. The little stream between the island and the Meuse was called the Papenwater. We've rescued that name from oblivion. Anybody who wants to get into the Limburg legislature has to pass over the Papenwater."

[Oosterhuis] You brought interior designer Dick Elffers from Amsterdam. And the typically Limburg historical paintings in the hall were done by Gertie Bierenbroodspot, also from Amsterdam. Wasn't there enough talent in Limburg?

[Kremers] "There has been criticism about that. But that goes with the job. Besides, a lot of Limburg artists contributed --carpets, sculpture, paintings."

[Oosterhuis] You've been behaving like the king of Limburg, according to a VVD alderman from Tegelen in the NRC HANDELSBLAD. "This authoritarian form of government won't do any more."

[Kremers] "I'm a dominating administrator, that's just the way I am. But I also have a job to do. I didn't come here for the fun of it."

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[Kremers] "There are three moments in my life that I look back and say, 'They were decisive.' Meeting Rutten was the first one. The second was sometime in 1976. At the time I was chairman of the Scientific Council for Government Policy. One evening I came home, turned on the TV, and saw the Binnenhof, a demonstration of pensioned-off and fired mineworkers from Limburg. 'What are they doing to those people?' I thought. About 9 months later De Gaay Fortman, who was minister of home affairs at the time, asks me to be governor, tells me, 'That province is on its last legs; it needs a young guy, somebody to get it going.' I saw it as my duty to take on the job, like a monk's duty."

[Oosterhuis] That wasn't some internal CDA politicking? "That man might want to be prime minister some day, let's kick him upstairs first?"

[Kremers] "Not that I know of, you hear? I can't rule out the possibility that there were people who thought that. When I came here, the newspapers



almost immediately started writing, 'He won't be here long.' At that point I stated that I felt myself morally obligated to stay for at least 8 years. Now I've been here almost 10 years."

[Oosterhuis] What did you find when you got here?

[Kremers] "Thirteen mines closed. In an area 25 by 40 kilometers, 75,000 jobs lost almost in the blink of an eye. With no social disturbance or anything, incredible --and of course that was part of the problem; unemployment 100 percent above the national average. There was sort of a feeling here, 'When's it coming?' I said, 'It'll never come if you don't go out and get it. No whining and yammering; nose to the grindstone, then you can ask for help.'"

"We wrote the 'Perspectievennota Limburg' [Memorandum on Prospects for Limburg], worked out policy for a 10-year period. We went to The Hague with that. 'Listen carefully to us, cabinet in The Hague; you bear the primary responsibility for this area, it's the national government that closed the mines and promised us new jobs to make up for that 100 percent.' We agreed on a 'contract' between the regional and central governments: unemployment back to the national average by around 1990. And every year now we sit down, cabinet and provincial government, and see if we've met the goals we agreed on. Nothing like that had ever happened before in the Netherlands."

"Last March unemployment was still 17 percent above the national average, 83 percent taken care of. We've brought in all kinds of things, central government services, for instance, as part of the plan to disperse them; we've developed projects suited to the scale of this area, small institutes that reinforce one another, the snowball effect, hotel industry flourishing. This region's structurally sound, perfect location, hardworking people, industrial past. We don't leave any stone unturned; we're building a training hospital and a large exhibition and congress center that KLM will be operating from the end of 1987."

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[Oosterhuis] There was a third decisive moment in your life.

[Kremers] "Maybe even more than that. My trip to Jerusalem last December. That was the first time I felt it physically: here lies my past, our past. I stood at the site of the Garden of Gethsemane and I saw it live before me, I saw it --appallingly naive, maybe; here is where it happened, for me personally and for all of history, here is where a perfect human being stood. A human being of perfect self-sacrifice: 'your neighbor more than yourself,' that ideal; one we often cannot live up to, but it's there. He showed us that good can be stronger than evil."

"I also was at His grave, in that church --whether it's really His grave, I don't think is so important. The site is so small that only three, four people can get in at once. I went back, got back in line, and then again three times."

[Oosterhuis] You stood at the grave and you thought, "Here is where He rose"?

[Kremers] "I don't comprehend the word 'rose' but for me it means something like 'He has returned to His origin,' to His God. That God is also my origin, I call him 'my father.' I have no objection if somebody calls God 'mother,' I say 'father.' I believe that he works in me, he inspires me to do things that are good for others."

[Oosterhuis] How does that belief show up in your life as governor?

[Kremers] "First of all in my choice of parties. That may surprise you but I sincerely mean it. I wasn't born a member of KVP [Catholic People's Party], I actually got into party politics very late, in 1972, after I'd been sounded out by three different parties to serve as minister. I won't name any names --no, won't go any further into that. At that time I asked myself, 'Isn't it time you joined a party?'"

[Oosterhuis] Why didn't you join the PvdA?

[Kremers] "Thought a long time about it, talked about it too, with Jos van Kemenade for instance. I couldn't accept their views of society, that forced, unrealistic ideal of equality --and in those years they preached it in very black-and-white terms. Of course people are equal, but in education you mustn't reduce the chances for the more gifted, nothing good comes of that, that's been demonstrated scientifically. I also couldn't put up with that business of whipping up antitheses; I think the PvdA has been paying a tremendous price for that for more than 5, 10 years now. I'm more the type that brings together, reconciles, puts things into perspective if you will; I try to build things with people across the barrier of those antitheses. To my mind that striving for harmony is connected with Christianity."

[Oosterhuis] "Justice, shared responsibility, solidarity, and stewardship." Do you see these CDA principles reflected in current government policy? With the spending cuts and all?

[Kremers] "At the present time the CDA is attempting to balance interests fairly against one another, I do believe that. It's obvious to me that drastic cuts are necessary; as for how to make them, there's room for disagreement about that. I don't think the deficit should be eliminated just as fast as possible, regardless of cost. Governing is a tough craft, it usually means trying to choose the lesser of two evils; by definition you dirty your hands. And the tragedy of it is that from time to time you have to make people say 'ouch.' There's no straight line from the Gospel to concrete everyday policy action."

[Oosterhuis] An economic system in which large numbers of people are pauperized is certainly not in keeping with or, better, "in the spirit" of the Gospel. The capitalistic system, with its free, uncorrected, unrestricted market mechanism, is leading to impoverishment and great inequality on a world scale.

[Kremers] "At this moment we have no other system than the capitalistic one."

It was a very harsh one originally but in the Netherlands it's lost its sharp edges. To a certain extent we've preserved the market mechanism in the Netherlands; I think it's fortunate we have because otherwise I don't know how we'd proceed. Alongside that we've built up a welfare state, that's 'in the spirit of the Gospel,' it seems to me."

[Oosterhuis] And it faces demolition because of the drastic cuts.

[Kremers] "No, not demolition. Sacrifices are being made but our old people and unemployed still get benefits. You'd like them to be higher, so would I. But that still leaves the welfare state intact as a structure to care for the weaker members of society. The day the CDA no longer is organically concerned about the weaker members of society, I'll leave the party, I know that."

[Oosterhuis] A couple weeks ago ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE wrote about "the Netherlands' invisible paupers": 700,000 Netherlands belong to the Fourth World, the Third World within our boundaries. They're hidden behind statistics and income tables. But CDA Minister De Graaf asserts that there is no poverty in the Netherlands. Can it be that the CDA is not well informed?

[Kremers] "I wouldn't agree with ELSEVIER's statement. The poverty that exists in our country is not at all comparable to that of the Third World. Comparing the two seems unwarranted to me. If we limit ourselves to a comparison with the countries right around us, you can't deny that our social security system still comes off well. Is that the end of the matter? No, of course not. There's still a lot to do in the Netherlands. De Graaf knows that very well too. In all of the spending cuts, for example, development aid has come off reasonably unscathed. I consider that a sign of civilization. As a CDA man I wouldn't want it any other way. In the European Community the Netherlands contribution to development aid has been the highest in relative terms for 30 years now. If that were not a Christian-Democratic priority, that would be inexplicable, since that party is the only one that has been in the government the whole time."

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[Kremers] "The heart-rending pictures on TV from Chile when the Pope visited there. 'What are we doing here?' I thought. And also, 'I hope that if I were 20 and lived there, I'd agitate against that regime too, and my children too.'"

[Oosterhuis] In 1973 the Netherlands Christian Democrats viewed the fall of Allende with satisfaction; the CDA sent a congratulatory telegram to Chilean Christian-Democratic leader Eduardo Frei.

[Kremers] "In 1973 I wasn't consciously political yet. I don't know anything about that telegram. I can't rule out the possibility that I would have agreed with it at the time, I don't want to try to cover that up. The CDA makes serious errors of judgement sometimes too. The CDA should have three antennas out for everything that has to do with justice."

[Oosterhuis] Wouldn't you like to go work in a developing country --start a

new life?

[Kremers] "Sometimes I would. If you're already there and can just go ahead and do something, then you're a lucky man. But I'm too much rooted in this culture."

[Oosterhuis] Rotten?

[Kremers] "No, rooted --well, maybe rotten too."

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[Oosterhuis] Aren't you too high up? Too far away from ordinary people, the victims of the spending cuts?

[Kremers] "A few years ago I had to get an unlisted phone number because people would call me up till late at night. My wife would say, 'There's one of your clients again.' Sometimes people call me up who're going through a rough spell or have gotten caught in the gears of the bureaucracy; this is a province where people are pretty ready to appeal to the governor. I think I know reasonably well what's going on with people. I like to be with people too."

[Oosterhuis] Speculating about a successor to Lubbers, ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE wrote about the race between Kremers and Van den Broek, with Kremers said to have a better chance.

[Kremers] "It takes at least two to have a race. I don't see myself running."

[Oosterhuis] Maybe you can afford not to run.

[Kremers] "No. Look, in one way I've been very spoiled in my life: I've never had to ask for something. If somebody really thinks that I could be useful or necessary somewhere, I'll hear them and at that moment I'll act as the situation dictates."

[Oosterhuis] No ambition?

[Kremers] "No."

[Oosterhuis] Do you want to get old?

[Kremers] "Certainly, but not too feeble."

[Oosterhuis] Will you ever resort to euthanasia?

[Kremers] "I don't think so. My father --who I knew as a powerful man all my life-- was very senile at the very end of his life. Terrible, so disfiguring. Even so, I don't think you should do that. As a person in government I can imagine many, many qualifications to that statement, for other people; but not for me."

[Oosterhuis] What will you do when you're old?

[Kremers] "I'd like to be somebody people can call on in all kinds of situations. I don't see myself sitting reading a book all day or walking a dog. For that matter, we don't have a dog and none has ever wandered in."

[Oosterhuis] Are you lucky in love?

[Kremers] "Yes. Especially with our children. I thank Heaven for them."

[Oosterhuis] Have you even been unlucky?

[Kremers] "When my father died. Now that you ask, it's the first time I've thought of it. We were living in Wassenaar, I cried and prayed with the children. For everything that we hadn't said and maybe still could have been said. They called me up that evening to say that it... I had an obligation that evening, I was going to go the next morning, he died during the night. That didn't happen again when my mother was dying, thank God."

"By nature I am, I think, a very optimistic man. The thing that hurts me -- fortunately it doesn't happen too often -- the thing that hurts me terribly, the only thing I'm really sensitive about is when people question my integrity, not the correctness of my decisions but my integrity."

[Oosterhuis] What is your "integrity"?

[Kremers] "When they suggest that I knowingly do things that can't bear the light of day."

[Oosterhuis] For example?

[Kremers] "A few years ago, it involved the official residence I live in, which was bought by the state. They'd exceeded the budget. One, I didn't know there was a budget; two, how much it was; or three, what they'd done with it. But there was talk, even made the newspapers."

[Oosterhuis] "That man's getting a fantastic house for himself"?

[Kremers] "'He's really getting into the treasury!' I thought it was incredible that they didn't write, 'That can't be, have we been so wrong about the man?' For them not to write that, I was offended; for them to doubt my integrity."

[Oosterhuis] Isn't that pretty naive of you? That's the way newspapers are, most of them.

[Kremers] "Yes, it is naive. But I was just about to resign. The feeling soon subsides, tomorrow there's something new."

"Later I talked with the people from the papers, asked, 'How can you do that?' What did they say? They said, 'Hey, don't let that rubbish bother you.'"

## LABOR PARTY PRESS ORGAN VIEWS CONSERVATIVES' CONGRESS

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 13 May 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Empty Phrases"]

[Text] Many fine words were spoken about political goals and tasks during the Conservative congress in Tromsø. The party's policies were painted in the brightest color and the entire array of positive political concepts was employed to outline a "new" Conservative Party. A party more willing to cooperate and less dominated by dogma, one with adjusted political signals that have been adapted to the middle-spectrum parties and the approaching municipal election. Of all the tasks that were going to get fresh attention and a new content, regional policy was central. A new regional policy program was outlined and on that basis the overtures to the middle parties started up again.

The reactions from the leaders of the Christian People's Party and the Center Party after the congress did not indicate that they are very convinced by the new tones issuing from Tromsø. Kjell Magne Bondevik told NATIONEN that he would "wait and see what they do in practice" before drawing any conclusions about what effect the Conservative Party signals will have on a possible government cooperation. And the chairman of the Center Party, Johan J. Jakobsen, said the same: "The important thing now is whether the Conservatives' adjusted strategy will also be manifested in Storting and at the bargaining table."

Yesterday one of the Conservative Party's new special issues was on the agenda in Storting and the middle parties had a look at how much reality there is in the Conservative Party's new guise. Just 3 days after the many fine words and promising resolutions at the congress, the Conservatives were quite unveiled again with their empty phrases about regional policy.

The Conservatives are not only abandoning their own special issue, they are also clearly indicating a broad political distance between themselves and their former government coalition partners.

One of the few concrete measures the Conservatives agreed on in their regional policy offensive was the elimination of the state tax in Finnmark and North Troms. Yesterday the party was presented with a proposal aimed at

precisely that. And believe it or not, the Conservatives decided it was the right thing to do to vote against their own program proposal. The Conservatives have consistently opposed the concession arrangement for calf breeding. It will hurt development in this branch, they argue, and thus have a negative effect on regional economic development as well.

In the Storting debate yesterday the Conservatives had an opportunity to vote on a motion to eliminate the concession arrangement. But the Conservative group in Storting voted against the proposal.

The Center Party and the Christian People's Party have emphasized the need for a balanced approach in steering regional development and have reacted positively to the Municipal Affairs Ministry's building freeze on large commercial buildings in the Oslo area. During the Storting debate the Conservative Party was the only one with the exception of the Progressive Party to advocate that the government end the building freeze and with this standpoint the Conservatives were able to show that there is a solid majority behind the government's policy on this point.

In his speech the Conservative Party chairman tried to accommodate the middle parties somewhat by saying that the Conservatives are not really opposed to the Urban and Rural Planning Act. When Presthus was challenged later to clarify his party's true opinion of the Planning Act as a tool, the end result was "explanations" or evasions, to be more accurate. What it amounts to is that the Conservatives feel the Planning Act should function as a kind of voluntary guideline.

If anyone was in doubt, the debate yesterday clearly revealed that the Conservatives do not have a regional policy. It is a term they have used. And that is all.

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## EAST BLOC INCREASING, NORWAY DECREASING SVALBARD ACTIVITY

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 14 May 87 p 15

[Article by Kjell Terje Baroy: "Little Poland Stands Firm"]

[Text] The norwegian flag outside the Polish research station in Hornsund on South Spitsbergen has long irritated the Soviet Union and the Soviet consuls in the mining communities of Barentsburg and Pyramiden on Svalbard.

But the flag and the sign on the door that expressly states that the station is under the protection of the Svalbard district governor have survived Soviet displeasure and an extensive exchange of notes between Moscow and Warsaw stemming from frequent reports from the Soviet consuls in Barentsburg.

## Polish Warmth

Research chief Jan Holtet of the Norwegian Polar Institute gets a warm reception from his Polish colleague at the station, Grzegorz Gregorczyk, that reminds one of a tango with elements of an unacademic wrestling match. Grzegorz has spent a winter in Hornsund before, now his second winter is behind him and he knows his friend from the Polar Institute so well that they go through a three-course dinner concocted by the station member on kitchen duty--they take turns--before the conversation turns to professional matters.

## Disturbing

While the Soviet Union is increasing its business activities on Svalbard or at least maintaining the same level, many fear that Norway is now cutting down on its involvement.

At the same time it is a fact that Norwegian research activity is lagging behind that of the East Europeans. This has occurred--and is continuing--at the same time as the politicians have designated polar research as an alternative basis for Norway's presence and exercise of authority on Svalbard. But the facts are still quite different. Norwegian research communities are small and have limited resources. While foreign expeditions to Svalbard bear witness to big investments, there are seldom more than two people taking part in Norwegian field projects on the island group.



## Cooperation

Research chief Holtet told us that a big new research program extending the marine ecology program in the Arctic (Pro Mare) is being planned. The goal is to go to Arctic land areas and chart the entire ecosystem, the food chain and the broad consequences to the environment if a species dies out. The Poles, who have a traditional involvement in both Arctic and Antarctic research, have already been asked to take part.

The program is currently in the planning stage, but the Polar Institute's research chief expects matters to become clearer during the Nordic research conference that will be held this summer under the auspices of the Polar Institute and the Nordic Council of Ministers.

## Soviet Bureaucracy

Holtet said that heavyhanded Soviet bureaucracy has made it difficult to exchange research results with the Soviets. However personal contacts between Norwegian and Soviet researchers on Svalbard are good.

About 10 years ago the Soviets initiated talks between Norway and the Soviet Union concerning a scientific agreement. The Soviets wanted a cooperation that covered Svalbard alone--a negotiating goal that was perfectly suited to the traditional Soviet Svalbard policy: to reinforce the dual national features of the island group's situation.

Now, however--according to research chief Holtet--a breakthrough has occurred in the talks between Norway and the Soviet Union concerning research in the Arctic across territorial boundaries, research that is not limited to Svalbard. The breakthrough came a year ago. The agreement has two levels: one is a general agreement of intent based on the fact that Norway and the Soviet Union are neighbors with natural conditions that are similar to some extent, calling for an exchange of research results. Under this agreement of intent specific projects can be worked out in various fields.

## Blue Ice

The deadline for the field work of Gregorczyk and his team in the Hornsund area is mid-July. A Polish ship will arrive then with a new expedition that will spend the winter there and Gregorczyk will have to say goodbye for the second time to what he himself calls the most beautiful fjord on Svalbard which cuts through the incredible geological formations from Heckla Hoek in the west all the way to the central basin at Bredpollen. Here are precipitous and rugged mountain bird refuges and calving glacial ice--compact blue ice thousands of years old that expands and shatters into crystals with a tinkling sound when dropped into a glass of tepid vodka.

But that is not what the Polish glaciologists and glacier ice researchers in Hornsund have in mind. In the Polish fashion Gregorczyk brings out his national Zubrowka in such tiny glasses that only a teetotaler would think of asking for ice, no matter how blue.

## BOOKS ON NATO, SOVIET ACTIVITY IN NORTH EUROPE REVIEWED

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 May 87 p 5

[Review by Ola Tunander, doctoral candidate in technology and social change at Linköping University, of "Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy" by Michael McGwire, Brookings Institution, 1987, and "Spillet om Norskehavet" [The Stakes in the Norwegian Sea] by Norwegian Foreign Ministry official Sverre Jervell, Tiden Norsk Publishing House, 1987; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] A study of the superpowers' ocean strategy is coming out in Norway today. It was written by Sverre Jervell and is the most comprehensive account to date of the consequences of maritime strategy for northern Europe. Ola Tunander has read the book and provides a background for discussion.

As early as the preliminary stage of an American-Soviet conflict the United States will deploy a large number of combat submarines in the Barents Sea and three or four aircraft carriers in the Norwegian Sea, according to the new American naval strategy. Former U.S. Secretary of the Navy John Lehman has said that the Norwegian Sea will be "the principal naval battleground" in the future. The vital role of the Kola bases and Leningrad means that the Soviet leadership will put off a conflict in northern Europe as long as possible. The United States hopes to deter Moscow from military intervention in other parts of the world by putting pressure on the Soviet Union in Kola and the Barents Sea.

The area of most concern to the American leadership is politically and militarily unstable western Asia (the Middle East). It is felt that linking an American-Soviet conflict in western Asia to the northern ocean areas that are so sensitive for the Soviet Union will force Moscow to show restraint.

As far as the Nordic region is concerned this initiative is problematic because it increases military activity and the risk of a war in northern Europe. The Norwegians are beginning to advocate linking northern Europe to the more stable situation on the European continent. If this viewpoint is taken seriously we can expect to see a new relationship between the Nordic lands and Europe.

Part of the background for this development can be found in the defense doctrine the Soviet Union adopted in 1966-67. What this involves is described in detail in a new book by Michael McGwire: "Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy."

The U.S. deployment of long-range submarine-based missiles and a large number of land-based missiles made the old doctrine untenable. It was no longer credible that in the preliminary stage of a war the Soviet Union would try to knock out the entire U.S. nuclear arsenal. There would still be a big possibility that the United States could knock out the Soviet Union with its remaining land-based missiles and the seemingly unreachable submarine-based missiles. Thus an escalation to the nuclear level seemed much less likely.

Therefore, according to McGwire, the Soviet doctrine involves first of all Soviet preparation for the possibility of a purely conventional war and secondly an effort to develop submarine-based missiles with an intercontinental range. These missiles could be fired from naval strongholds in the Arctic Ocean and the Sea of Okhotsk and give Moscow a chance to retaliate and shoot its way out of an American first strike. The Soviet Union was able to carry out this project in the second half of the 1970's.

This change is important for the Nordic region for three reasons:

The concern about a purely conventional war led the Soviet Union to start taking an interest in its immediate vicinity and especially in an advanced defense in the vulnerable northwestern sphere of operations.

The concern about a protracted conventional war led Moscow to start planning a submarine war against NATO's Atlantic connections. This increased the Soviet interest in the Norwegian Sea.

The planned strongholds for submarines armed with intercontinental missiles in the Barents Sea and other northern ocean areas assume an advanced defense with air operations and submarine barriers in the Norwegian Sea. Such a defense would be facilitated if the Soviet Union could control or at least inactivate parts of the Nordic territory.

#### Submarine Violations

The somewhat incomplete data on submarine violations in Swedish waters show a number of incidents in the early and mid-1950's, in other words during the time when the Soviet leadership was mainly concerned about the U.S. strategic bombers that were scheduled to fly over Scandinavia. In the late 1950's and early 1960's when Moscow believed that missile forces would be developed into an almost certain guarantee, the importance of nearby areas was toned down. During this period there were almost no observations of submarine violations along the east coast of Sweden.

With the new doctrine from the late 1960's the Soviet interest in Scandinavia increased. According to the Swedish Navy we had as many as 10

submarine incidents a year. During the mid-1970's and especially in the latter part of that decade when the Soviet Union was setting up its strongholds for submarines with intercontinental missiles and the United States was presenting plans to deploy airplane- and ship-based cruise missiles, the Navy also reported minisubmarine violations in inner Swedish archipelago areas near important naval bases.

The U.S. deployment of an offensive naval strategy was followed by a sharp increase in Soviet naval activity in northern Europe. Among other things submarine activity in Swedish waters seemed to become more provocative and more extensive in the 1980's.

One reason why the United States began to show an interest in northern ocean areas was the threat the Soviet attack submarines were considered to represent to NATO's Atlantic connections. It was felt that an American threat to the Soviet naval forces on the Kola peninsula would lead to most of these submarines being assigned to purely defensive tasks.

Paradoxically a more important reason for the new American naval strategy may have been the events in Iran and Afghanistan. The American concern about a Soviet incursion in Iran led the United States to look for action possibilities. Many observers thought that the threat of using nuclear weapons was no longer credible because the Soviet Union had achieved parity on the strategic level--and perhaps even had an advantage on the medium-range level. This forced the United States to plan for a conventional war.

Since the Soviet Union is regarded as having an advantage in the conventional area in Europe and especially in the Persian Gulf region, the Reagan administration must try to prevent Moscow from selecting the war theater. Instead the United States must try to utilize the weaknesses of the Soviet Union and its unfavorable naval geography.

#### Expanded NATO

One of the brains behind the new naval strategy, Francis "Bing" West, feels that Europe is stable militarily. The threat to the security of the West lies in religiously, politically and militarily troubled western Asia, which requires a reorganization of NATO and an expansion of its boundaries, according to "Bing" West.

He says that sizable West European forces would definitely oppose a formal integration of the Middle East in NATO. Therefore this must be accomplished in other ways: primarily through an offensive naval strategy linking the Middle East with Europe, more specifically northern Europe.

An armed conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf, for example, is expected to be followed by an American attack on the Soviet strongholds for strategic submarines in northern Europe and eastern Asia. In practice this would bring the Middle East under NATO's area of responsibility and both West Europe and Japan would be forced to become more involved in military conflicts in the Third World.

The new naval strategy means that if there is a superpower conflict the United States will send a large number of American combat submarines into the Barents Sea to sink the strategic Soviet subs as they emerge from Murmansk Fjord. Of course the possibility that the American declarations contain an element of rhetoric cannot be ruled out but if the strategy is to have any credibility the United States must take the matter seriously. This will lead to a struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union over the ability to operate in northern areas even before a conflict breaks out. The nuclear deterrent will be supplemented with a conventional deterrent that involves a threat to vulnerable and vital Soviet areas.

#### Norwegian Contribution

An important contribution to this discussion is coming out today in Norway. It is Norwegian Foreign Ministry official Sverre Jervell's book "The Stakes in the Norwegian Sea." It is the most comprehensive Nordic account to date of the American debate and the consequences of the maritime strategy for northern Europe.

The alternative Jervell sees for Norway is a closer connection with Europe, an association with EC's detente policy and increased West European involvement in the defense of Norway. In that way it is felt that Norway can get away from its virtually bilateral relationship with the United States, which in turn means that the Nordic countries will not have to develop into a function of the strategic interests of either the United States or the Soviet Union.

#### Government Report

While in the past Norway has tried to avoid an association with Europe due to the unstable security policy conditions on the continent, it is now trying to move in the other direction because today Europe, not the Nordic region, represents stability and detente to a large extent. A West European involvement in northern Europe would link the potentially dynamic northern ocean areas to West Europe's relative restraint and this would give Norway a chance to negotiate with the United States via West Europe, i.e. with the strength of West Europe behind it. Finally this could reduce the Soviet anxiety and thus make a more flexible deterrent possible.

In the near future a government report will be presented to the Norwegian parliament concerning a changed Norwegian policy on Europe. In view of the fact that Sverre Jervell is one of the authors of the government report there is reason to study his arguments in the book more closely. Especially because it was decided to tone down the security policy discussion in the government report with reference to Atlantic interests.

According to Jervell the increasing U.S. and Soviet interest in northern ocean areas also includes the Scandinavian land mass. Northern Europe will be confronted with centrifugal forces that the individual countries will be forced to deal with. As far as Norway is concerned ties with the continent seem necessary to keep the country from being driven out into the Atlantic

by these forces. It is no longer thought that a Nordic detente can be based on the limited specific gravity of the Nordic region.

As far as Sweden is concerned, a closer association with Europe involves a stronger relationship with both sides. This in turn assumes a continued European detente and a more developed integration of East and West. Swedish military measures can reduce the motive and also some of the basic conditions for advanced Soviet and American positions in northern Europe. That is undoubtedly very important. But because the U.S. and Soviet involvement in the area concerns the surrounding ocean areas in particular, Jervell says that the Nordic countries will be forced to counteract the much too extensive presence of the superpowers through diplomatic means.

If the small Nordic countries can anchor themselves to the European land mass they will not have to become lost in the centrifugal dynamics of the northern ocean areas and drift aimlessly out to sea.

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## AIR STAFF CHIEF: PACT INCREASING ACTIVITIES NEAR BORDERS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 18 May 87 p 11

[Article by Christian Palme: "Denmark Modernizing Air Force"]

[Text] Karup, Denmark--Lieutenant Ove Alstrup mounts his green bicycle and pedals to the hangar for a cup of coffee and a piece of pastry. A short time ago he was swooping faster than the speed of sound over Kattegatt in one of the Danish Air Force's 17-year-old Draken planes.

In spite of the plane's modernization with new electronic equipment the Danish Air Force will soon phase out the Swedish-made Draken. The F-16 fighter plane from General Dynamics in the United States already plays a major role in Denmark's air defense. The Danish Air Force hopes that by the mid-1990's at the latest a replacement will have been found for the remaining Draken airplanes which in Denmark are equipped for ground attack and reconnaissance.

In the last decade Denmark has acquired increasing importance in NATO planning and that is one of the reasons why the Danish Air Force needs planes that are more modern and more flexible.

Hardly anywhere else in Europe is NATO's territory as narrow as it is over Denmark. It would not take many minutes for a squadron of Soviet MiG fighter planes to fly at supersonic speed from the international air space over the Baltic Sea out to the North Sea via Sjaelland, Funen and Jutland. Therefore it is not surprising that NATO's strategic plans are increasingly focusing on the air space over Denmark. Without having any definite knowledge, there are many indications that the thoughts of Warsaw Pact military strategists are turning in the same direction.

## Sleepy

In Karup, a sleepy town in the middle of the Jutland moor district, they are very interested in what the members of the Warsaw Pact are up to in the air. Here lies one of Denmark's biggest air bases outside Copenhagen, but civilian aviation--a handful of SAS planes a day--plays a very minor role. The Danish Air Force decides things in Karup. Karup is the base for the Air Force Staff or "Tactical Air Command," an air wing with two Draken

squadrons, the NATO BALTAP command (which is in command of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein) and a number of other military organs.

The Karup air base is a leftover from the German occupation in World War II and many buildings from the war period are still used today by the Danish Air Force. The Air Force Staff, the Tactical Air Command, is housed in a bunker-gray cement building with meter-thick walls, guarded by soldiers armed with automatic pistols and tight security controls.

The chief of the Air Force Staff, General Mogens V. Hansen, is well aware of Denmark's exposed position:

"There is a growing realization that Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein constitute a very narrow area as seen from the East," Hansen said.

"NATO has concentrated large military forces in central Europe but the forces here are smaller. It is possible that in an armed conflict the Warsaw Pact lands would fly over Denmark to push through to the North Sea."

#### Corridor

A few hundred meters from the Air Force Staff, at the Karup Air Station air wing, Colonel Jorgen Michaelsen expressed himself in similar terms:

"If our air defense is weak we run the risk that the Warsaw Pact will try to open a corridor through Denmark.

"Once hostile planes have penetrated Denmark they could swing north or south and attack the NATO countries from the rear," said Michaelsen and made a large gesture to show an imaginary airplane turning in the air.

There are signs that the Warsaw Pact countries are thinking along the same lines:

"There has been a clear development toward moving Warsaw Pact exercises closer to Denmark, the pattern of maneuvers has shifted toward the West," said Michaelsen.

"We seldom saw the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact lands carrying out landing maneuvers west of Bornholm 10 years ago, but we observe them regularly today."

But Denmark cannot handle air defense without help from its NATO allies. The entire Danish Air Force consists of no more than 84 combat planes and it would require a massive infusion from the United States and Great Britain to guarantee Denmark's defense in a crisis or war situation. Five U.S. air divisions are assigned to reinforce Denmark and another two are available from Great Britain. The reinforcements would not arrive automatically--the Danish government must decide if they should be called in following an application from NATO headquarters in Brussels.



"The idea of the reinforcements is that they will be used to deal with crises," said the chief of the Air Force Staff, General Hansen.

The reinforcements are meant to be such a deterrent in themselves that they will keep the Warsaw Pact nations from attacking.

"The task is to prevent war," said Hansen. "Actually one can say that their mission has failed if an attack really comes."

#### Draken Planes

The spotlight that is trained on Denmark's air defense is also casting a shadow on the two squadrons of Swedish-made Draken planes that have been based at Karup since 1970.

"We have always been very satisfied with the Draken," said Colonel Michael-  
sen, chief of the air wing, who jokingly compared the Draken to Swedish handicrafts, sturdy and long-lasting.

But now the problems are beginning to show up, not because the airplanes are worn out, but because their counterparts have become stronger.

"The Drakens have pursuit problems because the engine is not strong enough and the steering system is not optimal in air combat.

"In 6 to 8 years when we really see the new generation of Warsaw Pact planes in our vicinity, the weaknesses of the Draken will be more apparent and then replacements will be needed," said Michael-  
sen.

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## GROWING CONCERN OVER PRESENCE OF U.S. BASES

## Pressure for Using Thule

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 9-10 May 87 p 5

[Article by Jørgen Dragsdahl]

[Text] The transport problems of the ICC [Inuit Circumpolar Conference] delegation may have consequences for the U.S. Air Force.

It ought to be examined whether a civilian takeover of the air route from Søndre Strømfjord to the American base near Thule is possible, leading Greenland politicians state unanimously.

The statements were made after a delegation from the Association of the Inuits, the ICC, last week encountered problems when they wanted to visit the world's northernmost town Qaanaaq.

The Grønlandsfly company today only flies the route from the base to Qaanaaq. The transport to the base from the south takes place by American military aircraft, and special permission is required for all civilians. There have previously been problems when persons without Danish citizenship wanted transport, and it is an obstacle to the development of tourism. At the same time, Greenland politicians find it humiliating that they have to be carried by American military aircraft and first have to obtain permission via the Danish authorities.

## Demands Cutting Across Party Lines

The demand for changes was first raised by Aqqaluk Lynge, chairman of the party Inuit Ataqatigiit, who participated in the trip in his capacity of vice president of the ICC. He subsequently received support from Hans-Pavia Rosing of Siumut, who was a participant as well. Both are members of the Greenland government. Last Thursday, Lars Emil Johansen, who is chairman of the board of Grønlandsfly, stated that the company ought to take the matter up with the American Air Force.

Aqqaluk Lynge welcomes an arrangement like the one that has been made in Søndre Strømfjord, which is also an American base. There, a civilian section has been set up to avoid that civilian passengers become subject to American authority.

Use of the new route, however, may become a costly undertaking for Grønlandsfly, and Aqqaluk Lynge, therefore, proposed that the civilian route, moreover, take over part of the traffic whose destination is only the American base.

Hans-Pavia Rosing says that the home-rule government's hitherto policy has been that no matter where people live in Greenland, they ought to have the same access to the facilities, and that "it should not cost more if one lives in a settlement in North Greenland than if one lives here in Nuuk. It is high time for us to involve Qaanaaq in this as well, but there is a need for a wider clarification of the problems than we have undertaken so far, and I, therefore, cannot make more concise statements in conjunction with, for example, the air route."

#### Tourism

Hans-Pavia Rosing mentions that Ussarqaq Qujaukitsoq, who is a member of the Greenland parliament for Siumut from the Thule district, is "very perturbed" at the problems of access for tourists to Qaanaaq via the base. Additional earnings via tourism are highly needed.

"It has turned out that the groups of tourists with whom we have had contact were rejected because they were unable to obtain tourist visas," Hans-Pavia Rosing goes on to say. "I definitely find that we have to solve the bottleneck problem presented by the base. We have to support the population when it too wishes to develop a tourist industry--although on a smaller scale to suit the local society."

Lars Emil Johansen told GRØNLANDS RADIOAVIS [the Greenland news program] last Thursday evening that it is absolutely realistic to imagine that Grønlandsfly and the U.S. Air Force enter into an agreement to the effect that the company take over the civilian route between Søndre Strømfjord and the base.

#### New Aircraft

From a technical point of view, Grønlandsfly is able to manage today with one of its two De Havilland DHC-7 aircraft, which has four engines and accommodates 50 passengers. Intermediate landings, however, will be necessary, and the company already has considerable problems of capacity. It may, therefore, become necessary to purchase or rent a jet aircraft, which will then be capable of taking over the entire military route, which today starts at the McGuire Air Base in the United States.

Lars Emil Johansen says that he cannot imagine that problems will arise if the civilian route will only transport passengers whose destination is Qaanaaq. "We have not discussed the matter within the board, but Grønlandsfly is, of course, ready to undertake that task if the society sees a need for it," he says.

## Transport for the United States

He finds it possible that Grønlandsfly may also take over the flying of supplies to the base in that cooperation with the American Air Force has shown that "they normally have a good understanding of the conditions of the business sector, so I believe that there will be a good economic basis."

By far the majority of the personnel at the American base are Danish citizens--at present nearly 900. There are approximately 300 Americans. Foodstuffs, materiel and visitors on business trips constitute the main part of the transport of the military route from the United States. Danish employess, however, recently complained that they have to make all of their purchases in the supermarket of the base which only stocks American products. The wish has therefore been expressed that KNI (the trading company of the home-rule government) open a shop that especially stocks Danish and Greenland foodstuffs.

The American base has been made available to the United States free of charge. If Grønlandsfly will be able to make an arrangement for a profitable transport service all the way from the United States, a tax will be introduced indirectly. Jonathan Motzfeldt, premier of the home-rule government, has previously wanted payment for the base, but that was rejected from the American side. The United States, however, pays indirectly for its bases throughout the world through economic and military assistance to the countries involved. The free use of the bases in Greenland is a quite unusually favorable arrangement for the United States.

## Finance Minister Opposes Bases

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 12 May 87 p 4

[Article by Jørgen Dragsdahl]

[Text] War and armament are not included in the language of the Inuits, says the minister of finance of Greenland, who would prefer that the American bases be removed.

The American bases in Greenland are a foreign element which is in conflict with the culture and interests of the Inuits, says Greenland Minister of Finance Hans-Pavia Rosing of the Siumut party.

As president of ICC, the association of Inuits, he plays a central role in the organization's development of a policy for demilitarization of the Arctic regions. However, during the radar debate of the winter he remained silent. With his current statements he supports the large circles within the party which are opposed to the approval of the American bases on the part of party chairman Jonathan Motzfeldt and the Danish foreign policy line in this connection,

The Thule area's representative in the Greenland parliament, Ussarqaq Qujaukitsoq, has stated that he prefers for the American base to be removed. During the visit by the foreign minister and Motzfeldt in the area in mid-April he added that Greenland ought to be neutral. Motzfeldt reacted by abusing

Qujaukitsoq--and retracting the statement on his behalf. Motzfeldt told GRØNLANDSPØSTEN, among others, that Qujaukitsoq probably had been misunderstood because he does not speak very good Danish. Siumut's member of the Folketing has given INFORMATION a quite corresponding account of "the misunderstanding."

Ussarqaq Qujaukitsoq, however, gave GRØNLANDS RADIO an interview lasting for 30 minutes, in which he discussed in detail his viewpoints to eliminate the possibility of any further doubts. After visiting Qaanaaq and a long talk with Qujaukitsoq, Hans-Pavia Rosing supported his viewpoints.

#### No Relations With Military

"Ussarqaq Qujaukitsoq has said that he prefers to see the base removed. Can you follow him in that train of thought?"

"Yes, I have no problem in that respect. The best thing would be if the base had never been placed there. That is the entire basic position of all the people who live here in Greenland. They do not want to participate in a buildup for war. And they have that attitude in common with nearly all Greenlanders. They do not want to be a pawn in something which actually may end up with the destruction of the earth."

"We have never here in Greenland in any way been involved in a war situation. We have no army, we have no soldiers, we have no compulsory military duty. We do not all the time watch what the neighbor does. The entire cultural background does not have that characteristic in it, contrary to most people in the world, and where many forces are spent preparing for the day when something will happen. It therefore is a very foreign element in the Greenland society that there is a base--that there are people who live in the world where they all the time are on their guard."

"It is therefore easy for me to follow Ussarqaq in his thinking that the very best thing would be if the base was not there. But then there is the entire historical and political aspect of the matter, where we have had no joint influence on the question where the base would be placed. We have been a colony society, which has been regarded as part of Denmark, but where they did not find it necessary to ask the population up here for its opinion on matters. So when Ussarqaq says that he would like to see the base disappear, I agree with him, but at the same time we have to recognize our limitations. We are not in a position to have that base removed immediately. There are certain other votes on this issue which also have to be arranged, but our point of departure ought to be that we do not want to participate in a preparation for war, and that we do not want for Greenland to be thrown into the game that is going on between the superpowers."

"Neutrality, therefore, will be a more natural condition for Greenland?"

"Basically, I find that we in Greenland are neutral on this issue. Politically, we have not clarified our situation, because through the home-rule government we have been working primarily on the takeover of areas of responsibility from Denmark. The home-rule government law says that security and foreign policy matters belong under the Danish government."

## Debate Necessary

"Because of the entire discussion that has been going on lately especially in connection with the Thule base, it is necessary for us to take a political position. We have at no point of time had any formalized discussion on these issues, neither in the Greenland parliament nor in the Greenland government, nor have the parties taken any exact positions. As far as my party is concerned, I expect that we shall start a discussion at the upcoming national congress, since the entire discussion so far suggests that we in Greenland have to take a position ourselves on these matters."

"It has long been the official Danish policy that there shall be no foreign bases in Denmark?"

"Greenland has been an appendix in those discussions. The position has been that there were not very many people living here, and that they did not have any political influence. Through the home-rule government, the population has most certainly become more mature politically, and the time has now come for us to take a position as well on the matters on which we have had no immediate influence through the home-rule legislation."

"After all, we are already pursuing some kind of foreign policy. Partly via the home-rule government, where we have contact with various countries, among other things, in the form of trade relations. And partly through ICC, where we are not tied down within the framework of the home-rule government."

## Free Hands in ICC

"When I was president of ICC, I used to say that I had freer hands than the home-rule government to defend the interests of Greenland and those of the Inuits in general on the international level. When we in the home-rule government need contact to a third country, it will have to take place via the Danish foreign ministry. There all the time has to be a guard from the foreign ministry. But, via ICC, we can go directly to the American government, to the Canadian government."

"We have also been pursuing security policy through ICC, because we in ICC work with what we refer to as The Arctic Policy. It comprises all areas within the Arctic society--cultural, economic, and social. We are also in the process of formulating a security policy or a demilitarization policy. It is an important aspect that we cannot isolate Greenland from the Arctic area. The entire buildup and maintenance of the military defense forces that is taking place is, of course, to a high degree, centered in the Arctic area, and that affects the aboriginal population."

## Responsibility Toward Greenland

"We are undergoing a process where I can see that we shall gradually also have the responsibility for the security and foreign policies transferred increasingly to Greenland. But I have heard directly during my visits to Washington

and Ottawa that the ICC shall not interfere in these things because they are superpower policy issues. That, again, is the colonial position, which we still experience today. They regard the Inuit people as a minority without any political training, without any special education. They are often viewed as second-rate human beings."

"I find that Greenland may take action so that we get a reasonable amount of influence, and that will affect the other areas as well."

"War and armament are words that do not exist in the language. There are large peace movements around the world. I find that Greenland can and will play a role because we are one of the few peoples in the world who do not have military issues on their agenda. If we are able to draw the international attention to this, I also believe that it may have an impact on the morale in the peace work that is going on around the world."

"We are also in the process of developing a society on its own premises. That will also have to be viewed in this context. The social work that we are engaged in is actually contrary to the military buildup. We naturally do not want to have our society destroyed in a war, which will ruin these values. What we are doing is counteracting what the military stands for, what the base at Thule stands for."

"But many sealers in Qaanaaq stress that they are happy about the base because it provides medical aid and transport to the outside world. Have you not ended up in a dependent situation which will render a breach with the military forces difficult?"

"There are certain service trades which have been built up through the presence of the base, and we cannot disregard them because we cannot replace them right away. But, then, I take it that nobody says that they want to have the base closed down today."

"It may very well be said that we have unknowingly ended up in a relationship of dependence on the base. It is part of the large aspect that we have to prepare ourselves to manage these service trades ourselves. We have to offer something else in place. Today, we have no alternative, and that may be said to be a weakness. But then one also has to understand the historical situation."

#### ICC President Opposes Buildup

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 12 May 87 p 4

[Article by Jørgen Dragsdahl]

[Text] The population in the Thule area has become an avant-garde in the struggle of all polar Eskimos against the consequences of militarism--and for the right to an independent identity.

Thule Air Base in May--where the road from the American base through Thule, the deserted colonial town of the Danes, ends. Where the dark cone-shaped mountain towers and the ice-covered fiord introduces the old hunting fields of the polar Eskimos, the inughuits. Here was once the settlement Uummannaq.

The area probably had been inhabited for thousands of years. Here things have been found stemming from contact with the Northmen. It was here that Robert Peary and Knud Rasmussen developed the fatal contact with the polar Eskimos.

Here once lived a woman by the name of Arnarulunnguaq, who traveled along on Knud Rasmussen's long sleigh trip to Alaska and who later on went with him to New York--a place which to her was the end of the world because people so obviously lived in an inhuman way.

Minik, too, lived here, although it is his tragic experiences in the United States which have now become known through books by Phillip Lauritzen and Kenn Harper.

#### The Grave at the Mountainside

A hill provides a good view of the surrounding area. The midnight sun is low on the horizon, and an incredible silence prevails. The land slopes downward toward the ice. It consists of gravel and rock. As if a bulldozer had gone over it. However, in a few places wooden skeletons jut out: the old meat depots of the inughuits. One even discerns a few dark elevations: houses built of turf and stones from the time before the inhabitants in 1953 with a 4-day notice were moved to Qaanaaq, 120 kilometers away, because the base needed anti-aircraft facilities in the middle of the settlement.

The sight appears well known. Feelings well forth. Everybody in the delegation from ICC, the association of Inuits, and the otherwise pert reporters are filled with the grief and silence weighing down a person at a deathbed.

But it takes several days before the feeling of recognition emerges. It originates in distant parts of the world--from a collective awareness. After the nuclear bomb explosion in Hiroshima, a large area of gravel and pieces of brick was left. Without explanation, a few structures loomed into the air, reminding one that the area was once full of life.

#### Experience of Inuits

Hans-Pavia Rosing, who for 6 years was president of the ICC, has still another frame of reference: "Standing at this place, from where they were moved, one is overwhelmed by an indefinable feeling. It is a sad, melancholy feeling I had and which I sensed the group shared with me. The desolate area, the empty houses. It is a feeling I have also experienced in the very settlements that have been left behind. Even if one does not experience the same emotions as the people who were moved, the atmosphere is melancholy and sad. One ponders what actually happened at the time. There is a lump in one's throat."

"Are you getting angry?"



"When one talks with these people and afterward reflect on things, one gets a certain feeling of anger. One senses that an act of injustice has been committed, which naturally gives rise to opposition. The situation in the world was, of course, different at the time. But, still, the things that happened were not unique for the Thule population. Similar things happened elsewhere in Greenland, where settlements were abandoned on Danish orders. And the same thing has happened in other places in the world. One is filled with anger at the thought that one can treat other people the way the Thule population was treated. One feels that part of one's cultural background has been taken away--one's foundation as a people."

#### Miteq's Accomplishment

Aqqaluk Lynge, deputy chairman of the ICC, has been here before, as a participant in a literary expedition undertaken by DANMARKS RADIO. At the time, two sealers suddenly emerged from a hiding place in the now prohibited area. They had buried Miteq, who also became part of the history of polar research because he participated in Knud Rasmussen's long sleigh trip. They wanted to fetch a stone from the old settlement for his gravesite.

When the marching order came from Denmark in 1953, Miteq refused to comply, traveling instead across the ice to the other side of the fiord. That became the Moriuser settlement, which the authorities for decades regarded as illegal, and which, despite a gradually growing population, was denied its share of the state's service grants.

The reunion with Uummannaq inspired Aqqaluk Lynge to write a poem, which is his first one in many years after his collection of poems "Honor and Glory." It contains the following painful lines:

They traveled and traveled  
And traveled back  
With maps of the land  
And way of life described  
In honor and glory  
With medals and more  
For having traveled through a land  
Where people exist and live.

#### New Rulers

Today the commander of the American base rules over Uummannaq and the fiord where the inughuits once had one of their richest fishing and sealing grounds. On the flat summit of the mountain, the Americans play golf. On the Pituffik plain, where the residents of Uummannaq once gathered herbs and hunted for foxes, they have erected an incredible number of long barracks and have poured concrete on the rest, enabling bombers to land. Scores of huge tanks with the inscription "Jet Fuel" bear witness to the fact that during a war, the original function of the base may be recreated, unless, in the initial phase of such a war, it will share the fates of Hiroshima and Uummannaq.

At its arrival and on its way to Qaannaq, the press was denied a briefing that the commander gave the ICC delegation, and a few days later it was denied access to a tour during which the delegation was provided with data by technicians at the radar plant which is located at a distance from the base, on a rock overlooking the fiord.

But an elderly journalist found a solution to the problem. We took the bus. It brings technicians from Raytheon, which has built the new radar, as well as Danish workers to their work at the plant.

#### Obvious Violation of Treaty

In the course of a friendly talk on the bus we learnt that the new radar plant had already been put into operation, although the official start was only scheduled to take place on 10 June. We were also informed that the power consumption of the entire plant today is 5.5 megawatts, and that after the shutdown of the old radar it may manage on two generators, which supply a total of 3.2 megawatts. Another piece in the big puzzle has been put in its place.

A multiplication of the consumption of the new radar with the aerial field gives a potential that will be far beyond the 3 million permitted under the ABM Treaty. The plant actually is stronger than expected by many experts.

#### Innocent Technology

Large screens loom above the rock formations; they will soon be dismantled. In the midst of it all is the new radar with a sign saying "No Entry" at the door. Comparing it with the rest of the plant it is merely a small item, which appears innocent. Nevertheless it is here that the fundamental law of disarmament is being violated, and it is from here that information for use in a space war may be transferred to the command system.

As if ordered for the occasion, the Sunday edition of THE NEW YORK TIMES awaits one fresh from the aircraft in the very American supermarket of the base. An article questions seriously the technological advances represented by radars such as the one at the Thule base. With its efficient monitoring system, it is designed to reduce the risk of a nuclear war, is the widely held official explanation. The article in THE NEW YORK TIMES makes the less comforting statement that American and Soviet researchers have concluded that the complicated global command and control system designed to keep the 50,000 nuclear bombs of the world passive is becoming increasingly vulnerable when it comes to errors made by computers and human beings. Put in simple terms, the more elements the system contains, the greater the risk that one of them will issue false alarms. The belief in the infallible modern technology may become fatal, the experts state.

#### Defensive Briefing

In mid-April, the base gave the Danish foreign minister, Greenland Prime Minister Jonathan Motzfeldt and the chairman of the Atassut party a briefing. As a result of the briefing, the three men issued a joint statement to the

effect that they had now seen for themselves that the radar is only a defensive piece of equipment. It probably is the first joint Danish-Greenland statement ever on the blessings of the activities of the Americans. And the comforting words had their effect on the Greenland election campaign.

Hans-Pavia Rosing, who is also the finance minister of Siumut in the Greenland government and is known for his cool outlook, was rather shocked when making a statement after his briefing.

#### Not Convinced

With the ICC delegation he had seen the radar plant from the inside, but the explanation provided by the technicians was "exceedingly difficult to understand," so he did "not get an awful lot out of it."

"I probably had hoped that we would have been provided with a more thorough and competent explanation of the possibilities of the plant and the role played by the Thule base in the entire American defense system. I am not satisfied," Hans-Pavia Rosing says. "It is my opinion that the popularly elected leadership up here is entitled to know what is going on. I have not become convinced of anything, so I cannot say with certainty what it violates."

#### Limits Self-Government

Demilitarization of the Arctic region has been one of the most important objectives of the ICC since its first conference in 1977. War in the area naturally will have destructive effects. "The possibility exists, and the fact that it exists gives rise to concern," says Mary Simon, the current president of the ICC.

The concern is growing because the military concentration in the Arctic region is taking place at a tremendous pace. The above issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES carries a front-page article which says that the Canadian government has concluded that 10 nuclear-operated submarines ought to be built to patrol the ice-covered regions in the North.

Mary Simon also attached great importance to militarization because it "limits our future possibilities of actual self-government." The central governments maintain that the Arctic regions consist of vast uninhabited areas, but to the Inuits, this is their homeland. The needs of the military disregard the plans of the population for their own future.

#### No to Base Jobs

Mary Simon rejects the idea that the local population will be given employment at the base. She does not want to interfere in the views of the municipality on the subject--it wants places of work. But theoretically she points out that the base is not an environment that the polar Eskimos will be able to adjust to, and she points out that advantages for the local economy are always made an excuse for militarization.

Last year the general meeting of the ICC was presented with a draft "Arctic Policy" program. The section dealing with security policy was not finally adopted but will have to be developed further before the next general meeting in 1989. The debate is rendered difficult by the fact that the Greenland home-rule government has stated its loyalty to NATO, as well as by the military background of many Alaskan Inuits, in particular. This has been their possibility of advancement within the American society.

#### Demilitarization

The draft program states that "the defense policy and the foreign policy are traditionally the domains of the governments of the national states. However, the Arctic and global security policy is too important for societies in the North to be left out of it, nor should it be left solely to military and government experts."

The draft program advocates peace education, a thorough analysis of the possibility of a nuclear-free zone, and requests strict observation of the IBM Treaty.

In Canada the ICC has had its interests partly met by a parliamentary committee which recommended demilitarization. In its answer, the government did not consider it feasible "in practice" on account of the Soviet Union, but it advocated, however, that "excessive" militarization be limited.

#### Avant Garde

It is in this context that the population in the Avanersuup municipality has become an avant garde for the entire Inuit population. The ICC visit was designed to make the compensation case against the Danish state known in the entire Arctic area. At the same time, the visit provided the population with support. "We added coals to the fire by going there with the press," a source within the delegation said.

When it finally becomes available, the result of the work of the impartial committee will be integrated in the program for the next conference of the ICC to be held in 1989. "The press from the entire world will be present, and if the result is not satisfactory, the ICC will be able to bring the matter before the United Nations," the same source said.

#### Still Topical

"It is incomprehensible that anybody can claim that the demands of the municipality have become time barred," Mary Simon says. "The people have been removed from their traditional homes, where they had an intimate knowledge of the environment surrounding them. They know where the most important areas of the whales, the walruses, and the seals are located. They know exactly what happens in the course of the year, when the seasons change. It is a knowledge that has been developed over the centuries. When they are moved, they have to start learning all of it anew from the very beginning. What has happened is a brutal violation of the rights of my people. It is as much the responsibility of the government in 1987 as it was when it occurred."

CIVIL-MILITARY FACILITATOR ROLE PROPOSED FOR TERRITORIAL ARMY

Bonn TRUPPENPRAXIS in German Mar 87 pp 194-197

[Article by Lt Col Hans-Lothar Stegmann: "The Mediator Function of the Territorial Army;" first paragraph is TRUPPENPRAXIS introduction]

[Text] To facilitate fulfillment of exercise objectives of exercising brigades while, at the same time, softening the negative impact of the exercise on the civilian population, the Territorial Army assumes the role of a mediator. A procedure is described by which such mediation and conciliation efforts may proceed.

Combat exercises in the Federal Republic, which are held outside of training areas, create special problems for both the exercising units and the civilian population. They constitute a lawful encroachment on civilian rights that has been sanctioned by law and precedent. They nevertheless become more tolerable if one side is familiar with the other. Allied units have special needs in this respect. However, even Bundeswehr battalions and brigades cannot always be familiar with all the regional peculiarities of the area in which they exercise.

Military subregion commands, as the permanent command authority of the Territorial Army, are points of contact at brigade level and represent the national interests of the civilian population. They are well and thoroughly informed and, acting as an information exchange, they are able to play a mediating, supportive and conciliatory role for both sides. The following should be emphasized:

--Informing exercising units about terrain sections particularly vulnerable to exercise damage;

--Disseminating detailed information to public offices and communities in advance, using the media when appropriate, so that prior announcements will reduce the element of surprise;

--Exchanging addresses of points of contact to set the stage for further detailed discussions (crossing of waterways, use of engineer equipment,

traffic routes in tourist areas, and other matters);

--Commanders represent the exercises to the outside world (public authorities and the press).

A procedure by which preparations for a brigade-level exercise, which extends over several subregion commands, could proceed in the suggested manner is described below to serve as a guide.

#### First Contact

--First contact is made when the brigade G-3 approaches the S-3 of the affected military subregion command or commands. A decision must be made concerning the role of the responsible military subregion command;

--Usually the exercise has not been announced yet (this occasion should be used to expedite a timely announcement);

--An offer should be made to prepare for and execute subsequent steps with regard to time, space, and substance;

--A time span of about 9 months is appropriate, 1 to 2 hours should suffice.

#### Preliminary Discussion of Exercise

##### Participants:

Brigade Staff, including brigade commander or deputy commander, G-3, G-4 (engineer support, traffic control, possibly S-1 officer, project officer)

Responsible military subregion command including commander, S-3 staff officer, S-3 officer, , S-3 communications, supply officer)

Rural districts including civic offices, office for military encumbrances (for Allied exercises), civil, fire and catastrophic event protection authorities

Military subregion commands involved, including commanders or designated officer

Police inspectorate

Traffic control

Engineer detachment of military region command

Chief of liaison detachments (reservists, if previously called in accordance with section 4 (4) of the Universal Military Service Law)

The military region command and the district government may be included if required by the size of the exercise.

Direction: Commander of responsible military subregion

Invitations: Responsible military subregion command

Purpose: Coordination of further preparatory measures (timing and content). Initiating additional discussions concerning details. First complete review of exercise plans with regard to time, area, operations, and forces (personnel, wheeled and tracked vehicles, trucks) and special circumstances.

Time: 1 to 2 hours on a suitable day during exercise, e.g., on a weekend.

Briefings of Public Authorities and Community

Participants:

Brigade staff as in II reduced by one officer

Responsible and affected military subregion commands:

Civil authorities concerning road construction, water supply, oil and natural gas, the economy, rural population, federal railway and other matters as needed

Communities and towns, always including mayor, community executive or deputy

As required by circumstances [representatives from]:

Rural Districts

Police inspectorate

Engineer detachment from military region command

Traffic control

Chief of liaison detachments

Direction: Brigade commander or authorized deputy

Invitations: Exercising brigade; address lists to be compiled by the responsible military subregion command and sent to the brigade.

Purpose: Comprehensive briefing on exercise progress to recognize

special problems for the civilian sector in time and to be administratively, organizationally and psychologically prepared. Opportunity for a question and answer session.

Time: 3 months in advance; for 2-3 hours with an intermission (possibly with refreshments).

Depending on the magnitude of the exercise, it may be necessary to conduct several briefing sessions. This results in fewer participants, more concentrated information and the opportunity for more detailed discussions. The brigade commander should give representatives his undivided attention.

#### Briefing for the Press

##### Participants:

Brigade staff, represented by brigade commander and 1 to 2 officers familiar with details

The media, all newspapers, organs and other media represented/published in the area

Responsible military subregion command, affected military subregion commands if requested

Rural district including spokesmen for the press

Direction: Brigade commander

Invitations: Exercising brigade; address lists to be compiled by the responsible military subregion command and transmitted to the brigade.

Purpose: Briefing on exercise progress in easily understood terms for the press and other media to provide opportunity to inform the public about a pending coordinated and well prepared exercise. (e.g., exercise damage and damage prevention).

Time: 1 hour, 3 to 10 days in advance.

This event may be combined with the briefing for public authorities and the community or replaced by mailing prepared literature.

#### Brigade Commander's Reception

##### Participants:

Civilian and military leaders of the area involved, including those from the next higher level, and the press as recommended by the subregion commander.

Direction: Brigade Commander



Invitations: Exercising brigade; address list of persons to be invited, in accordance with recommendation, to be compiled by military subregion and forwarded to brigade.

#### Other Events

For division exercises, for which the point of contact is at the level of the military region command and the district government, an additional event relating to military-civilian cooperation may become necessary.

Other events--to reveal combat details during the exercise or at exercise debriefings, for instance--should be arranged in accordance with the situation and regional differences.

#### Summary and Conclusions

This plan for a methodical approach is based on experience. Dutch forces have been particularly cooperative. They especially welcomed the intermediary approach and made extensive use of it in practice which resulted in the considerate treatment of civilian property and possessions. Why should our allied friends surpass our own units in this matter? German units and major formations, however, do exhibit distinct shortcomings in their cooperation with the Territorial Army.

There are many reasons to be confident that the proposed procedures will soon lead to a better balance between success of the exercise and hardships for civilians and thus benefit the defense of our freedom, our living space and our way of life.

12628

CSO: 3620/190

## GIAT PROBLEMS FROM DROP IN WEAPONS EXPORTS NOTED

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 22 May 87 p 17

[Article by Jean-Francois Jacquier: "Arsenals Adrift: Too Many Export Contracts Lost"]

[Text] Exocet missiles--everybody knows they are made by Aerospatiale. Mirages by Dassault, radar by Thomson. (See article opposite page.) But tanks, guns, explosives, rifles? That's GIAT: the Surface Weapons Industrial Group. GIAT is a state-owned institution connected with Defense through the General Armament Delegation (DGA) which, since it was created in 1971, has never been able to create an industrial image for itself. A supplier of AMX tanks to the army, as well as Famas automatic rifles and other 155 guns, it has 10 arsenals (see map), employs 17,000 persons, including an army of 12,720 laborers, realizes 8 billion francs in turnover. Nevertheless, GIAT today is confronted with the gravest crisis in its history. Defense Minister Andre Giraud has just announced that 3,000 "laborer" jobs, one quarter of the work force, are to be abolished between now and 1990. Starting up the work on the Leclerc tank, the successor to the AMX, in 1991 will not change anything.

The principal cause of GIAT's problems is the drop in exports. For years the arsenals did very well, deluding themselves with their success in Saudi Arabia, in Iraq, in Qatar--their three main foreign customers. In 1983, export sales accounted more than 40 percent of GIAT's activity. But those blessed times are gone: last year, the share devoted to those markets fell to about 25 percent. This was, first of all, the consequence of financial difficulties encountered by the oil-producing countries. Armored vehicles, artillery, munitions--all sectors are affected.

## Climate

With its armored vehicles, France today must confront new competitors, such as Brazil, on the foreign markets. Brazil, with its light Cascavel, which is sold mainly to Libya and Iran, shows itself to be very aggressive on prices. The AMX proposed for export by GIAT, moreover, relies on a technology dating from the 1960's which no longer gives them a decisive advantage. Originally designed for the French army and therefore basically for a European theater, they are poorly adapted to other terrain, more desert-like, for example. "Our tanks are made for industrialized nations," confirms Noel Playe, the director

# Surface-Weapon Arsenals: Who Makes What?

<u>Sites</u>	<u>Activities</u>	<u>Work Force</u>	<u>1985 Turnover In Million Francs</u>
Roanne	Cases of armored cars and AMX tank assembling	3,200	3,000
Farbes	Large turrets and 155 shells	3,000	1,700
Bourges	Small artillery research Manufacture of 90 to 195 guns	2,500	1,850
St.-Etienne	Light weapons (Famas) and small turrets	2,050	850
Satory	Armored materiel research Development of Leclerc prototypes	1,700	1,250
Tulle	Automatic weapons, medium-caliber 30 guns for air-planes	1,500	360
Toulouse	Cartridges, mines Assembling electronic housings	1,250	410
Salbris	Ammunition loading and shells of all calibers	750	1,150
Rennes	Medium- and large-caliber hollow-ware cartridges	470	115
Le Mans	Small-caliber cartridges	400	135

The latest verified turnover figures are those of 1985. The overall estimates for 1986 show a 5-percent decline in current francs for the 10 arsenals taken as a whole.

of the DAT (Surface Weapons Directorate). And the rest of the potential customers are no longer buying anything at all, regardless of the price; they now demand materiel adapted to their own terrain, their own climate, their own enemies." Placed under direct government supervision, GIAT was unable to adapt to this development in time. It also bears the brunt of it on the guns market, where companies like Bofors (Swedish), which are accustomed to living on exports, are stealing more and more contracts. Thus it was last year in India, when Bofors got the better of GIAT's sophisticated 155 gun: a bungle worth 9 billion francs in turnover!

The debacle is even rougher in the area of light weapons, automatic rifles and hand-held weapons. In the final analysis, the Famas or Clairon, manufactured in Saint-Etienne, never did achieve much success abroad. "Too expensive and too sophisticated," they say at GIAT. A combination rifle and grenade-launcher, in reality it never did perform very well. In any case, not well enough to compete with American production or that of the Swiss, who are noted for their precision watch-making. Nor with the Kalachnikovs which are mass-produced in all the countries of the Eastern bloc. As for the old MAS 50 pistols carried by the gendarmerie, they will be replaced by Italian Berettas or Swiss SIGs. There is one consolation: production will be accomplished in France by the Saint-Etienne and Manurhin arsenals. Another area in which competition is fierce: classical ammunition, 5 to 25 millimeters, the costs of which are seriously compromised by the security requirements enforced in France. Losing its foothold in its traditional markets. GIAT was no longer able to implant itself on the ramparts of the future. Hence the approaching reductions in its work force. But those reductions will not be enough to put back in the saddle an institution that lacks flexibility. Its survival will depend on its ability to eliminate its rigidity.



Key:

1. Tanks
2. Guns
3. Military aircraft guns
4. Rifles
5. Shells
6. Cartridges
7. Principal production of the arsenals of the Surface Weapons Industrial Group

8946

CSO: 3519/136

## DECREASING COMBAT FLEET, FUTURE DELIVERIES NOTED

Brest OUEST-FRANCE in French 26 May 87 p 199

[Article by Christian Cressard: "Crisis of the Combat Fleet"]

[Text] It is no longer a secret to anyone. The Navy is undergoing a new crisis; from year to year the combat and logistical support fleet is shrinking. It totaled 180 ships in 1974, and today it has 145; in 1992, there will remain 120, and in 1996, 115. And out of these 115, there will only be 19 ships larger than 3,000 tons, of which two will be more than 25 years old. The priority given to the submarine fleet of the deterrent force, the nuclear attack submarines, and the launching of construction of nuclear-propelled aircraft carriers is absorbing the major part of the funds at a time when ships are more and more expensive. At the same time, the ships in service are aging even more quickly due to the high rate of activity. The ease with which a single missile can put a sophisticated frigate out of commission, as was seen in the Malvinas war and very recently with the American frigate Stark, seems to justify those who prefer submarines to surface ships.

While the French shipyards have built for Saudi Arabia some multipurpose frigates that are little wonders, the Navy does not have the resources to order any for itself. And people are thinking about building inexpensive ships that will be "kit" equipped, depending on the missions assigned to them. The main advantage of these "modular frigates" will be to provide a gangway for candidates for sea command, however, we will have to wait to see them before judging their operational value.

Reviewing the appropriations for conventional construction, one can easily list the ships on which the Navy will be depending in the coming years. For 1987, the following will be delivered: the ASM No 6 corvette, La Motte-Picquet; the tripartite minesweepers 7 and 8, Aigle and Lyre; SNA No 3, Casablanca; the diver-mine removal base ships Acheron and Styx; and the patrol boats 400, La Fougeuse, La Moqueuse, La Capricieuse, and La Glorieuse. Under testing or development are the following: the SNA Emeraude, to be delivered in 1988, and the SNA's 5, 6 and 7; tripartite minesweepers 9 and 10, Persee and Sagittaire; the mine warfare experimental ship Thetis; the hydrographic ships Laperouse, Borda and Arago; an infantry and tank landing barge (CDIC); and the landing barge transport Foudre. The combat fleet is waiting for anti-air corvettes 1 and 2, Cassard and Jean-Bart; and the ASM corvette No 7, whose delivery has been delayed. Also, the Navy has allocations to begin

construction of the nuclear aircraft carrier Charles-de-Gaulle (formerly Richelieu), which risks not having sufficient protection when it goes into service. It also has allocations to order an oceanic anti-mine ship, a public service ship, five sea patrol planes, and an eighth SNA.

Admiral Leenhardt wrote a year ago: "The Navy's resources should include an increasing air-naval element, then a space-naval one." However, it is hard to imagine the Navy without combat ships. And it will be difficult to do everything.

Certainly, discussion of this subject in the secrecy of officer wardrooms is not over yet.

9920

CSO: 3519/135

## DASSAULT'S MIRAGE SALES PROBLEMS, FUTURE PLANS VIEWED

Paris L'EXPANSION in French 5-18 Jun 87 pp 106-109, 111

[Article by Herve Jannic: "Dassault's Survival Plan: To Compensate for the Decline in Orders, any job is Worth Accepting"]

[Text] Sometimes praised to the skies, sometimes booed by the public. Dassault, like Yannick Noah, is one of those super-talented but unpredictable champions who leave no one indifferent. Let the French manufacturer win an important contract and its reputation is confirmed as the world's best builder of airplanes (wasn't it the prestigious Rand Corporation that conferred that title on it in 1973?). But let it make a mess of a "deal of the century" and everyone points the finger of scorn at its technical weaknesses, its rather unorthodox commercial practices and its immense arrogance.

A few days away from the opening of the Salon du Bourget, the Dassault Company appears rather to be in the position of the fallen champion. You be the judge: the 1986 accounts reveal a net sag in the turnover (-5 percent), a tumbling of the profits (-36 percent) and a falling away of the orders (-55 percent). Thus, in the military sphere--85 percent of the firm's activity--only 10 aircraft (9 Mirage 2000's and 1 Alphajet) were ordered by foreigners in 1986 (compared to 50 in 1985), and no client has turned up since the beginning of the year. What is happening on the national market is scarcely more reassuring, since the Defense Ministry is contenting itself with buying, on average, about 30 Mirage 2000's and refusing to give the green light to the Rafale program--Dassault's future fighter plane--which could account for an order for 400 aircraft totaling 130 billion francs. Bad luck!

For the present, the company is therefore confronted with a serious cutback in their operating plan, which has forced them to eliminate over 800 jobs, an action unprecedented in the history of a firm that has always pampered its personnel. In short, Dassault has every reason to show a low profit, beginning with its boss, Serge Dassault. He is known to have received far from unanimous approval as successor to his father in 1986, and today he still maintains rather chilly relations with Andre Giraud, his executive assistant.

Under such circumstances we expect to find discouragement, even despondency, when we meet with the leaders of the company. Curiously, we find no such thing. "We have never built such good airplanes," one of them rejoices.

"Nineteen eighty-six was a bad year, but 1987 will be almost acceptable and 1988 more than satisfactory," predicts another. "Times are changing; we will be able to adapt to the new deal," a third person asserts. Is this kind of optimism justified?

Not on the commercial level, anyhow. It has never been so hard to sell airplanes. The vice president for international relations, meaning Dassault's number one salesman, Hugues de L'Estoile, paints a less than encouraging picture of the international market. "We are up against three handicaps: increasingly strong competition, flat demand, a dollar and a pound that are too weak. Why is the competition increasingly strong? Because competitors are being created and none are being eliminated. To the Americans, the English and the Russians--who have always been our competitors--are being added the Italians and the Israelis, who will be joined soon by the the Swedes and the Brazilians and then, after them, the Indians, the Indonesians, the Chinese and the Argentines. Why is the demand flat? Because a huge military equipment effort was made in most countries between 1965 and the early 1980's; today those markets are saturated and when they aren't saturated, the budgets are limited. Why are we hampered by the weak dollar and pound? Because those are the currencies of our two major competitors and even--indirectly--those of certain countries like Sweden and Italy, who incorporate into their planes a great deal of equipment made in the USA. You are undoubtedly going to tell me that Dassault was not so unfortunate 10 years ago, when the dollar was worth 5 francs. Agreed, but at that time it was a buyer's market and there were fewer sellers."

Such is the international environment in which Dassault must take part. How can it react? First, by defending its presence in its three great zones of influence: Europe (Belgium, Switzerland, Spain and Greece), Latin America and the Muslim world (from Morocco to Pakistan, by way of the Gulf States). It isn't always easy. We saw that in 1986 when Saudi Arabia preferred the Tornado of the European consortium, Panavia, over the Mirage 2000. Last January, it was even one of Dassault's closest and most loyal customers--Switzerland--who let it down by opting for British Aerospace's Hawk to the detriment of the Alphajet. How could such an important contract (400 million Swiss francs) have been lost? "Because of the scandalous dumping by the British," declares a source at the French builder. "Quite simply because Dassault's emissaries neglected to meet with the highly-placed official who signs the orders," says someone in Andre Giraud's entourage ironically.

1986: The Black Year (in Millions of Francs)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Turnover</u>	<u>Net Profit</u>	<u>Orders</u>
1982	12,649	322	20,677
1983	13,987	394	14,125
1984	15,692	432	14,218
1985	16,439	459	19,642
1986	15,600	293	8,900(e)

e = estimate

More than stagnating turnover and falling profits, it is the collapse of the orders that worries the people at Dassault.



It is not enough to take care of the steady customers. New outlets also have to be found. Let's listen again to Hugues de L'Estoile: "We undertook a big effort in the Far East, most particularly in Indonesia, in Thailand, in Malaysia and Singapore, all of them countries that have always been equipped with American or British materiel. We are also convinced that it is necessary to work with the two most heavily populated nations in the world--India and China. As far as India is concerned, it's done. There remains China, which owns a fleet of 3,000 airplanes that we could help to modernize. Finally, there is Japan, with whom we hope to conclude genuine cooperation agreements, meaning as equals, taking their technological level into account. Having said that, all of Dassault's potential customers are not necessarily situated at the end of the earth. I am thinking of Turkey, where I went recently; why wouldn't she buy Mirage 200's from us? I am also thinking, though for the longer term, of countries like Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands, who, with Belgium, chose, not long ago--jointly--General Dynamics' F-16 over the Mirage F-1. In 1975 there was talk of the 'contract of the century.' At that time I was made responsible for the dossier by the Defense Ministry. Today our ambition must be to get back all or part of that market. If we manage to do that, it will be a remarkable return for us, and for some, perhaps, the best day of their lives!"

Wanting to protect and develop these shares of the market is good. But you must have products just as good as--and even better than--those of the competition. In this respect, Bruno Revellin-Falcoz, vice president for technical affairs, research and cooperation, has no complexes vis-a-vis anyone: "I am just back from the United States. Over there, everybody thinks highly of Dassault. I was even asked for the secret of its success. I answered, continuity. In the United States it's customary for manufacturers to form and disperse their teams according to the successive programs they are working on. We, however, have the same teams from the beginning. Thus we have at our disposal a true collective memory that gains valuable time for us when we have to validate the theoretical calculations resulting from the wind-tunnel or flight tests. This explains why the Rafale was made in 27 months and why we are very far ahead of our competitors. It also explains why the Mirage F-1 required only three prototypes and the Mirage 2000 no more than five, whereas the McDonnell-Douglas F-18 and F-15 required 11 and 20 respectively! Believe me, when it's a matter of theoretical aerodynamics, air intake, flying controls or test plants, we have never stopped being at the top level in the world, and that may be even more true today than 10 years ago!"

Even if it means spoiling the fun, one can't let such an affirmation go by without asking this very simple question: if, today, Dassault planes have reached near-perfection, why do they have less of a name on the international market than they had yesterday? Our interlocutor replies, "An airplane is more than an airframe; it's also an engine and a weapons system. With regard to the engine, SNECMA is making great efforts; its M-88 is the equivalent of the American engines. As for the weapons systems, Thomson-CSF and ESD are going ahead with giant strides." Free translation: the engines and radar equipment that Dassault hoped for have not yet been perfected. To tell the truth, this little quarrel between the foreman and his suppliers is normal in the world of aeronautics. Whether in France, in Great Britain or in the United States, there will never be an airplane manufacturer who is satisfied with the builder of his engines.

That being said, there is actually nothing to choose between the products proposed by Dassault and those of its competitors. Not counting the Mirage III and the F-1--which are at the end of their service--which are still being sold here and there, Dassault can count on three especially successful aircraft: the Alphajet, a tactical support and training plane whose chief competitor is the British Hawk, which is heavier and more costly; the Mirage 2000, the only really versatile 10-ton airplane; and the ATL-2, the new version of the British Atlantic, a maritime surveillance plane without an equivalent anywhere in the world.

In the end, it is obviously the Rafale that should be Dassault's battle horse. But will it see the light of day? It actually involves a program so considerable budgetarily (140 billion francs), strategically (the country's defense is at stake) and commercially that Dassault can do nothing without the help of the government. That is precisely where the shoe pinches, because Andre Giraud is not of a mind to sign a blank check. There are three reasons for the minister's reluctance: an obvious antipathy toward Serge Dassault; too many inaccuracies in the aircraft's characteristics, especially with respect to the degree of "stealth"; the desire to build the Rafale cooperatively to share the costs.

On these three points--it seems--the dossier is in the process of being unblocked. Meeting misfortune with courage, Andre Giraud in the end swallowed the "Serge Dassault" affront; it was hard to refuse to have anything to do with Serge forever on the pretext that Marcel was a genius and a genius is irreplaceable. As far as the technology is concerned, there is no longer any problem: the Rafale will be not only an airplane capable of doing somersaults during air combat, but it will also be a stealthy aircraft, meaning it will be able to escape from missiles. Finally, concerning the third point of disagreement--cooperation--a compromise has been found in the form of a GIE (Economic Interest Group) combining Dassault, Thomson-CSF, SNECMA and Serge Dassault Electronics around the Rafale program. A miraculous GIE that makes it possible at one and the same time to please the minister by limiting autonomy of Dassault, to make the Rafale credible with potential buyers by forming a complete industrial entity, and to offer a structure for receiving potential foreign partners. "There is no question, however, of introducing an American into the sheep pen; that would be the best way to remove all our freedom to maneuver from exportation," explains an officer of the company.

Today, it seems unthinkable that the Rafale project will be aborted. No doubt it will not develop exactly as Dassault would have wished, since the foreman will not be the only pilot aboard, the requirements of the general staff will be given more consideration and the government will unfreeze the credits only in small packages. But all signs are that in the next 10 years this airplane will be operational.

The resumption of foreign orders and the official launching of the Rafale program--these two conditions are necessary but not enough to cause the poor fiscal year of 1986 to be soon forgotten. "Today, a builder like Dassault needs 80 or 85 orders per year to stay afloat. With the growing sophistication of airplanes and thus their increasing cost, he needs no more than 60 or 65," Hugues de L'Estoile reckons. There is no guarantee, however, that this average level will be reached in the next few years. Hence the necessity of finding other sources of income.

This is precisely the road down which Serge Dassault hopes to start his firm: "Taking the present orders into account, our plan of operations is assured for 1988. We are of course adapting to the situation in every possible way: increasing our prospecting effort in all countries, diversifying our activities, proposals for cooperating in foreign programs, seeking foreign partners for our programs, participating in civil aviation programs. Some countries want to develop their aeronautical industry, India, Brazil and China, for example. They are looking for partners capable of contributing the new technologies necessary for the development of the programs they are studying. Why not do business with them? It's better, in any case, to be a partner than a competitor!"

In other words, anything is right--even doing odd jobs--when the question is one of maintaining the activity and saving jobs. Thus Dassault is planning to advise the industrializing countries as well as to become the subcontractor for other manufacturers. After all, there is no disgrace in that. Is it not the lot of many aeronautics companies in Italy, in Spain, in Germany and even in the United States?

This is unusual language on the part of a Dassault officer. And it may be the chief merit of Serge, who is a newcomer in that prestigious firm and less intoxicated than the others by 40 years of glory, that he can cast a cool eye on the real situation of the firm and its environment.

Customers cry poverty, airplanes are more and more expensive, competitors proliferate. In short, the time for big coups is over. Without giving up his identity, the airplane manufacturer of genius must now transform himself into an entrepreneur ready for anything in order to survive. A bank that is difficult to execute, even and especially for one whose name is Dassault.

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CSO: 3519/136

## BRIEFS

NEW SUBMARINE SONAR FOR AUSTRALIA--Brest--Australia has ordered six ultramodern submarines from the Swedish Kokum shipyards. They will be equipped with Eledone sonar, which is also equipment on the Rubis type nuclear attack submarines. The whole weapons system of the Australian submarines will be supplied by an American consortium headed by Rockwell International, which has chosen two partners, Singer Librascope and Thomson Sintra. For the French company, which is world leader in mine warfare, this represents a 1-billion-francs deal. It is not the first try for Thomson Sintra, since it already equips British, Dutch and Spanish submarines. It is preparing for Australia a new, very powerful version of sonar, using in particular an antenna of fluoridized polyvinylidene, a plastic material able to transform sound vibrations into electrical signals and vice versa. The Cagnes-sur-Mer establishment is the leader in this manufacture. For its part, the Brest establishment is on the point of completing a production project with the Americans: the anti-mine sonar AN SQQ 32 for the U.S. Navy, in cooperation with Raytheon. That will also be a big contract. Indeed, when the Americans produce real minesweepers, it will not be in small production. [Text] [Brest OUEST-FRANCE in French 21 May 87 p 199] 9920

ATLANTIC-MEDITERRANEAN FLEET EXERCISE--A major air-sea exercise will be held on the Atlantic flank from 29 May to 3 June. "Mediant 01" will deploy large naval forces (18 ships) and air-naval forces normally stationed in the Atlantic or Mediterranean. The purpose of Mediant 01 is to develop the cooperation of the forces assigned to the two theaters, Atlantic and Mediterranean, to insure protection of an aircraft carrier and its escort in transit against a triple threat--air, surface and submarine, to conduct a massive attack on land by the planes of aircraft carriers, and a support operation to ground troops. Participating in the exercise will be: the Mediterranean Squadron, with the aircraft carrier Clemenceau, the cruiser Colbert, the frigate Suffren, corvettes Montcalm and Dupleix, and the fuel tanker Meuse. Atlantic Squadron, with frigates Duguay-Trouin, Tourville and De Grasse; the corvette Primauguet; squadron escorts Du Chayle, Du Petit-Thouars and La Galissonniere; and the fuel tanker Durance. The Atlantic Fleet, with avisos [escorts] CDT Bouan and CDT Birot; attack submarines Psyche and Junon; elements of the Montfort commando; Atlantics; Super-Etendards; Crusaders of the Navy Air Force; and participation by Air Force planes and the Loperhet radar. Air raids will be carried out during the exercise in Landivisiau and Baud regions. On conclusion of the exercise, the Colbert and the Clemenceau will visit Brest from 4 to 9 June. The other ships of the Mediterranean Squadron will visit the United Kingdom. They will all join again to participate in the major inter-arm exercise "Korrigan 87" from 9 to 12 June. [Text] [Brest OUEST-FRANCE in French 25 May 87 p 199] 9920

## DEFENSE CHIEF WANTS RIGHT TO BOARD, INSPECT SMALL BOATS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Apr 87 p 6

[Article by Roger Magnergard]

[Text] OB [Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces] Bengt Gustafsson wants authorities to have the right to board recreational boats from foreign nations in the open sea outside the archipelagoes and check visas and travel plans.

International law gives Swedish authorities the right to carry out such checks today. But it is never done because it is not clear which authority should conduct those inspections.

Gustafsson has now written a letter to the government in which he calls for clear and unambiguous rules.

## Polish Yachtsmen

Last summer, there were a number of incidents involving recreational boats from foreign countries in Swedish prohibited areas. Among the incidents attracting the most attention was one in which four Polish yachtsmen had anchored at the Musk Island base--in an area to which entrance is prohibited.

"Several of the boats turned out to be state owned," says staff editor Jan Tuninger of the Defense Staff. "And we found both technicians and naval officers from foreign powers on board--in prohibited areas."

According to Tuninger, it is suspected, but so far not proven, that some kind of espionage is involved. He also points out that foreign naval officers naturally have a right to take yachting vacations in Sweden, but that if they do, their visas must be in order.

"Because of the large number of recreational boats, it is terribly difficult to inspect them all," says Tuninger. "But it is certainly odd that people from foreign countries should be moving about in our prohibited areas."

The OB takes a serious view of the problem, partly because the boats may have been used as "platforms for the gathering of intelligence."

The problem has involved mainly recreational boats from the Soviet Union, Poland, and the GDR.

Ulf Samuelsson, a commodore on the Defense Staff, told TT [PRESS WIRE SERVICE, INC.] that strangely, recreational boats from visa-exempt countries also turn up occasionally in our archipelagoes.

"These are recreational boats from our neighboring countries and the FRG, for example," says Samuelsson. "But there is nothing to indicate that such activity has increased over the past few years."

Following the attention-getting incidents of last summer, staff editor Tuninger does not rule out the possibility that some of the crews might have been convicted of espionage or unlawful intelligence gathering if the system of collective criminal responsibility had been in effect in Sweden.

In some cases, intelligence gathering was involved, but it was not possible to prove who on board the recreational boat was guilty of what, with the result that everyone was released.

#### Stricter Requirements

The proposal to make the Coast Guard part of the total defense organization is being greeted with satisfaction. That will increase surveillance of our coasts and archipelagoes.

But the OB wants stricter requirements for recreational boaters from countries for which Swedish visas are required.

In order for permission to travel in Swedish waters to be granted, the OB wants the visa to contain information on the planned itinerary and the time required for the trip. That information is to be in the hands of the Coast Guard before the trip begins.

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## MINISTRY ACCUSED OF 'DISTORTING' STUDY ON EAST-WEST BALANCE

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Apr 87 p 8

[Article by Lars Christiansson]

[Text] The UD [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] has distorted the conclusions reached in a comprehensive Swedish military analysis of the balance of conventional forces in Central Europe.

The analysis confirms the prevailing idea in the West that the Soviet Union and its allies are stronger than NATO. But even though the UD participated in the study, it is trying to pretend that the conclusion reached in the report is that there is no imbalance in conventional weapons between the blocs.

The report is called the Europe Project. The fact that the UD is distorting its conclusions is revealed in a semiofficial letter from the UD to the most important Swedish embassies.

## Instructions

The letter is dated 20 November 1986, and it instructs Swedish diplomats abroad as to what they shall and can say about the report's conclusions in conversations with diplomats from other countries.

The letter is signed by department head Carl-Magnus Hyltenius, who is head of the unit in the UD's Political Department which deals with disarmament and security matters. But it was written by division head Ragnar Angeby--the same Angeby who participated in the Europe Project as the UD's representative.

The letter also reveals that the UD feels that for political reasons, both military blocs are expected to gradually change their strategic operational principles in Central Europe: that they will endeavor "jointly" to make the military structures in Central Europe more defensive in character.

It is impossible to draw such a conclusion from the Europe Project.

In June 1984, the government instructed the supreme commander of the Armed Forces to work with the Defense Research Institute (FOA) in studying military-

strategic, military operational, and military-technical conditions in Central Europe.

### Sensitive Report

The report has been a sensitive matter for the UD ever since work on it began drawing to a close in the late summer of last year. The Defense Staff leadership wanted the final report made public, but that aspiration was combated by the UD.

The Ministry of Defense felt that the secret classification could be lifted from at least the main part of the report and that as much of it as possible should be made public.

Following lengthy discussions that lasted several months, the three parties reached a compromise. The final chapter summarizing the report would be revised and published in a "laundered" public version. But even that version was the object of long-drawn-out discussions before the UD was satisfied and it became possible to release a smoothed-out shortened version for the public in December.

The UD's letter is remarkable not only because it distorts the conclusions reached in the main report but also because, despite the negotiations, it does not even tally with the conclusions shown in the published version. The UD's attitude was that nothing whatever in the report should be published.

### "No Simple Answer"

With reference to the main report, the published summary states that "the studies that were made do not provide a simple and unambiguous answer to the question, so often raised in the general debate, as to whether military balance exists between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Central Europe. Instead, they provide an ambiguous and complex answer based on the question of which alternative actions might be available to the two power blocs in various hypothetical situations of crisis and conflict."

The UD's letter begins by using similar wording to introduce its discussion of that point. But it concludes its discussion by saying that "a reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the study material is that on the whole, there is no clear-cut imbalance in the conventional area in Central Europe."

There is no basis for that conclusion either in the published version or, as SVENSKA DAGBLADET has learned, in the classified material itself.

The letter also states that "in studying the possible use of nuclear weapons in various war scenarios, no instance was found in which such use in a European war could be considered effective from a purely military standpoint."

That conclusion also lacks any basis in the Europe Project. The published version notes, among other things, that "it is true that the use of nuclear weapons by NATO in the early stages--that is, during the first few days of a



war in Europe--might have great operational effect, but in that case, such weapons would probably have to be used before the possibilities for using conventional weapons could be definitely written off."

The published version also says that "in an initial phase, the Soviet Union could conceivably respond to a first nuclear strike by NATO by using nuclear weapons against NATO's air bases, among other measures, and this means that the Warsaw Pact hardly lacks operationally significant nuclear capability, although it will not necessarily undertake a decisive military escalation for that reason."

The UD draws several conclusions of its own which can scarcely be said to have any basis at all in the Europe Project. Following a discussion about how important "an initial advantage" is "for either side in connection with an outbreak of war," the UD writes:

"In the long run, therefore, it seems that vital self-interest may provide the blocs with stronger motives than before for gradually changing the strategic operational principles that have guided military developments in Europe over the past few decades and for endeavoring jointly to impart a more defensive character to military structures in Europe."

The letter was sent to the embassies together with the complete classified report. It must therefore be seen as a directive to the diplomats concerning the way they must comment on questions concerning the Europe Project.

#### "Surprise Attack Gives Warsaw Pact Advantage"

A surprise attack is probably necessary if the Warsaw Pact is to be decisively successful in a conventional war in Central Europe. At the same time, the Warsaw Pact must also succeed in restricting NATO's ability to use its air forces.

If NATO receives warning a couple of days in advance and has time to adopt countermeasures, particularly in the FRG, the Warsaw Pact may at most gain control over northern Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark following a couple of weeks of fighting and at the cost of heavy casualties. The Warsaw Pact's chances for getting control of all of West Europe are small, however.

That is the Europe Project's assessment of the consequences of the balance of power between the blocs and of their operational alternatives in Central Europe.

#### Superior Forces

The study shows that the Warsaw Pact has superior conventional forces in Central Europe. The deciding factor in whether balance will exist in case of an attack by the Warsaw Pact will be the speed with which air combat forces and ground units can be brought across the Atlantic and the English Channel to reinforce NATO.

## Depends on France

An equally important condition if NATO is to succeed in resisting an attack by the Warsaw Pact is that France, which currently does not participate in the Alliance militarily, must decide fast enough to make its military resources, bases, and ports available to the Alliance.

Most force analyses usually concentrate on counting the number of tanks, divisions, soldiers, and so on. The Europe Project also takes into account the possibilities for a rapid buildup of forces by both blocs--that is, how quickly and effectively the two alliances can reach full combat readiness.

Ratio: 70 to 40

The analysis confirms the superiority of the East. The assessment is that after 2 weeks, if both sides started their force buildup at the same time, the East's superiority would amount to 70 divisions compared to 40 divisions in the West (including the French divisions), allowance having been made for the qualitative differences in divisions on the two sides.

The report also draws attention to the major role played by the geographical differences between the blocs. NATO's defense in Central Europe depends on whether reinforcements from across the Atlantic can be brought up quickly enough. The Warsaw Pact constitutes a continuous land area and therefore has considerably faster deployment routes.

The analysis shows that NATO's military structure in Central Europe is defensive. That scarcely makes it possible to do anything other than defend the Alliance from a breakthrough by the Soviet Union and its allies.

## Aircraft Compensate

The Europe Project emphasizes the importance of air combat forces. NATO's tactical aircraft have greater offensive capability than those of the Warsaw Pact. This makes it possible for NATO to compensate to some extent for its inferiority in the ground.

On the other hand, the Warsaw Pact has strong antiaircraft defenses and a large number of fighter planes, the number and effectiveness of which are growing. NATO's air forces are so strong, however, that a successful assault by the Warsaw Pact depends on surprise attacks on NATO air bases. This is the place where the Warsaw Pact's sabotage units can be used in the initial phase.

If NATO's air forces remain reasonably intact in the initial phase of a war, the Warsaw Pact should find it difficult to achieve any decisive victories.

NATO's ability to operate in the air depends on the air bases in Great Britain and Scandinavia, whose geographical location is relatively well protected in relation to a front in Central Europe. If the Soviet Union could move its positions forward in Scandinavia, that would hamper NATO's ability to operate successfully in Central Europe from air bases in southern Norway.

## Bases in Southern Sweden

The study also draws attention to the value of air bases in southern Sweden, not only to NATO but above all to the Soviet Union, which would be able to use them to great advantage in combating NATO's air forces.

France's Armed Forces are of crucial importance to NATO's possibilities for defending Central Europe. If airborne units from the United States were delayed, the French forces would be NATO's only quickly available reserve. The authors of the report feel, however, that in the event of an attack, France would quickly participate in NATO's defense.

The authors of the report feel that if the object of the Warsaw Pact's attack were broadened to include Great Britain and France, that would immediately lead NATO to consider the use of nuclear weapons.

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## PARLIAMENT DEFENSE COMMITTEE APPROVES MORE DRAGEN MODERNIZING

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 May 87 p 12

[Article by Sven Svensson: "Disagreement on Defense Goals"]

[Text] A crisis and war in Europe could last for around a year and a half and the planning of Sweden's total defense can be adjusted accordingly. This was asserted by the Social Democrats and Liberals on the Riksdag Defense Committee which hammered out the 5-year plan for total defense on Tuesday.

The Conservative and Center Party members of the committee believe a war will last considerably longer than that.

It was not possible to broaden the defense agreement between the Social Democrats and the Liberals for the period 1987-92 in the committee negotiations. Now that the committee report has been issued it shows that the Conservatives and Center Party people took their separate lines on most questions.

## Draken Planes

The only important change that has occurred in the defense agreement between the Social Democrats and the Liberals involves the modernization of another division of Draken airplanes, in other words around 18 planes.

The committee majority stressed the importance of maintaining freedom of action with respect to the 1992 Defense Act. The Conservative and Center Party members, who wanted more Viggen airplanes, dissented on the Draken issue too. The Defense Committee accepted the view that northern Europe and the adjacent ocean areas have gradually acquired increased importance for the superpowers. This and the development of weapons technology will have consequences for the Nordic lands.

The committee majority approved an updated description of the goals of total defense. The Conservatives felt that Sweden's defense does not meet the requirements of security policy. The Center Party said that more emphasis should be given to the civilian part of total defense.

The assessment of the length of future crises and wars led to certain priority changes in the Defense Act.

The committee accepted the view that a prewar stage can be expected to last for as long as a year, which would gradually reduce foreign trade. . From a planning perspective the prewar stage could then be followed by a war or neutrality stage, which could last for several months, during which no foreign trade would be possible.

Total defense must have an endurance capability that is satisfactory in relation to the length of the war/neutrality stage.

#### Big Disagreement

This assessment led to major political disagreement. The Conservatives think war will last longer and want a new review of planning orientation. The Center Party objects to planning goals, including those in the food and energy areas.

The Social Democrats and Liberals accepted a proposal to concentrate shelter construction in high-risk areas.

The committee recommended a planning framework of 124.867 billion kronor for the 5-year period from 1987 to 1992. The Conservatives wanted to allocate 127.367 billion and the Center Party 125.617 billion.

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CSO: 3650/144

## GENERAL, ADMIRAL WARN OF WEAKENING OF SOUTHERN COAST DEFENSE

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Apr 87 p 12

[Article by Anders Ohman]

[Text] A serious risk of weakening defense capability in southern Sweden.

That is how one can sum up the criticism by two high-ranking military men of the proposal by the Defense Committee and the government to establish a joint command organization for coastal defense at a lower local level.

The two high-ranking military men are the commanding general of the Southern Military Command, Lieutenant General Carl Bjoreman, and Chief of Staff Rear Admiral Goran Wallen. The most severe criticism comes from Goran Wallen, who has warned the inhabitants of Skane and Blekinge that wartime defense capabilities must not deteriorate further.

Those hard words had reference to MKS (Southern Naval Command), which according to the proposal by the government and Navy Commander in Chief Bengt Schuback is to be organized as part of the Southern Military Command (Milo S). Three subordinate regional authorities would be combined: the Southern Coast Naval Base (OrlBS), the Blekinge Coast Artillery Defense District (BK/KA2), and the Malmo Naval Patrol District (BoMo).

#### Forced To Move

MKO (Eastern Naval Command) will be the corresponding organization for the east coast. The Stockholm Coast Artillery Defense District (SK/KA1) in Waxholm is to be combined with the Eastern Naval Base, with headquarters at the Musk Island base in Stockholm's southern archipelago. The military personnel at Waxholm are critical of the proposal, which will mean that from 30 to 35 people may be forced to move.

Personnel in southern Sweden will not be affected in the same way. Those living in Karlskrona and Malmo will be able to stay where they are. Military criticism of the proposal there is concerned with effectiveness and command capability in wartime.

The new authority (MKS) will have many tasks. It will be in charge of sea surveillance and naval incident preparedness while also acting as the mobilization authority for all naval units in Milo S. This includes both the Coast Artillery units in Skane and the Army units in Blekinge. The commander of the new naval command will be the defense district commander [copy missing] be in command of ground combat in the same district and of all naval forces.

#### Too Big

The criticism by Carl Bjoreman and Goran Wallen focuses on the fact that the authority will be too big and have too many separate missions. There is a danger that it will not be possible to find qualified commanders to handle all those tasks.

"If the commander is not qualified, the subordinate units will quickly lose confidence, and combat morale will be undermined," says Goran Wallen, who emphasizes that there is scarcely any defense force in the world where a commander with insufficient technical know-how is given military tactical responsibility.

Instead, the top military men on the Milo Staff want an organization for territorial activity and command in Blekinge--and a special command for combating naval targets.

Carl Bjoreman told DAGENS NYHETER: "We are in danger of saddling ourselves with a big expensive organization whose commander will have too broad a responsibility."

#### Unchanged

Colonel Fredrik Hillelson of the Navy Staff is head of the task force which, under Navy Commander in Chief Bengt Schuback, recommended the new command organization.

"An invasion of Sweden will involve an amphibious operation in which various military forces including the Air Force and Navy will work together to occupy a bit of Swedish territory. To face up to such a combination of forces, we need a command function whose task will be to create the greatest possible combat effectiveness," says Fredrik Hillelson.

The Navy Staff has not changed its basic philosophy--a single authority--despite the criticism. Even OB [Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces] Bengt Gustafsson is sticking to that basic idea.

The Defense Committee has asked several high-ranking military men, among them the commanding general of the Eastern Military Command, Lieutenant General Bengt Lehander, and Carl Bjoreman, to express their opinion. The Defense Committee will consider the matter on 10 May.

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## ARMED FORCES STUDYING WHICH UNITS TO CUT IN WAKE OF NEW PLAN

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Apr 87 p 12

[Article by Anders Jorle]

[Text] (TT)--The entire Swedish Armed Forces organization is going to have to be called into question and analyzed. It is no longer possible to maintain the old pattern. For example, eight of the Army's assault brigades are obsolete, and there is no money for modernization. As a result, OB [Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces] Bengt Gustafsson has personally taken charge of the largest study of the Armed Forces since 1958.

Everything from the organization of military commands to conscript training will be called into question and examined as part of the project known as Armed Forces Committee 88, although it actually consists of six different subcommittees.

The findings are to be complete as early as the fall of 1988, and the OB has therefore appointed a special management group that is to push the work forward as quickly as possible.

The group is headed by Major General Owe Wiktorin of the Defense Staff. The group emphasizes that except for its role as expeditor, the OB is responsible for the committee's work, although much of the detail work will be done by the staffs of the armed services, primarily the Army.

## Maintaining the Organization

Bengt Gustafsson said during an interview with the TT [PRESS WIRE SERVICE, INC.]: "We have been trying for a long time to maintain the Armed Forces organization even though defense appropriations have not continued to rise. Now that is no longer possible.

"Today we have eight brigades that we never have enough money to modernize. It is no longer possible to assign the simpler missions to them. When they are shut down, that will affect everything else, and we must take a look at the entire organization.



"How should the Armed Forces be run? We have to start with that end of the problem.

"That may involve frustrating reappraisals for many people in the Armed Forces," says Bengt Gustafsson.

#### Demise of Regiments

The OB is not unaware that the studies will result in changes as great as those that occurred under the 1925 defense decision. The work is of the same magnitude, although it may not mean the demise of as many regiments despite the far-reaching nature of the structural change.

The constructive change to come out of the 1925 decision was the establishment of the Air Force as a separate service--a far-sighted decision at the time. Another defense decision with important consequences was reached in 1958, when the number of Army brigades was reduced and the Navy was also reorganized into a fleet of lighter ships.

One thing which has been questioned in the past and which is now going to be studied again is the number of military commands. There are currently six, and their commanders have considerable personal responsibility for all operations in the air as well as on the ground and at sea.

"Military operations cover larger areas today, and that is another argument in favor of larger military commands. Our large exercises also show that the staffs of the military commands are not really adequate for coordinating ground combat," says Bengt Gustafsson.

One idea that has been mentioned before calls for coordinating the Air Force's division into sectors with the military commands. That would result in four military commands for the entire country. Two large staffs would then disappear.

The study concerning military commands and leadership matters is to be completed first, and it will be submitted to the government as early as December of this year.

A reduction in the number of assault brigades will affect conscription. Is it necessary to provide the same period of training for all conscripts?

That question will also be studied. One result may be a sharp reduction in the training period for those who will be assigned "only" to local defense units and guard units.

In that case, what compensation will be provided for those forced to spend more time in training?

"Naturally, there is a point at which the pressure for monthly conscript pay grows strong," says the OB. "But then we also run the risk of losing what we otherwise would have gained economically."

The OB does not expect the less advanced local defense units to be shut down on a large scale. We must have a territorial defense force in vast and sparsely populated Sweden in order to make a surprise attack more difficult.

## ELECTRONICS FEARED COMPROMISED BY DEATH OF UK SCIENTISTS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Apr 87 p 10

[Article by Roger Magnergard]

[Text] The mysterious deaths among military scientists in Great Britain are a matter of concern to the Defense Materiel Administration (FMV). Several of the scientists were associated with Marconi, the electronics firm that is working as a subcontractor on, among other things, Troop Radio 8000, Missile 71 for the Viggen, and, probably, the improved version known as Missile 71-A.

So far, five military scientists have died under mysterious circumstances. Another has disappeared.

"We are interested in finding out what happened to them," says Bjorn Kagger, the FMV's information chief.

"Since several of them had been working for Marconi, which is a subcontractor of ours, there may be security aspects to their deaths."

The FMV contacted its British subcontractors to obtain information about the deaths. But British police have been unable to find any connection between them, and they are still being investigated by local police authorities.

#### Inquiry Rejected

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher last week rejected a demand by the opposition for an official inquiry into the deaths.

Three scientists were working for Marconi on a project for locating submarines in deep water as part of the European share of the Star Wars project.

One of the three died when he fell from a suspension bridge. The next one tied one end of a rope around a tree, put the other end around his neck, got into his car, and drove off. The third man has disappeared.

Another scientist associated with Marconi drove a car carrying two cans of gasoline straight into the wall of a house.

Another scientist hanged himself, and just under 3 weeks ago, a defense expert and teacher at the Royal Institute of Technology in Shrivenham died in his car.

The car was in the garage with the doors closed. The engine was racing.

The FMV has no information to indicate that any of those scientists were connected with Swedish projects.

#### Important Supplier

Marconi is an important subcontractor for Troop Radio 8000--a frequency-hopping radio used primarily by the Swedish Army and Navy.

The firm has also supplied components for a mobile detection unit used by the Air Force. In the late 1950's, Marconi supplied complete radio stations--so-called air defense centers--to Sweden.

Marconi is also an important subcontractor to British Aerospace, a firm from which our military have purchased parts of the armament used on the Viggen: Missile 71.

#### British Cooperation

According to the defense agreement, the radar-guided air-to-air missile for the JAS is to be developed in cooperation with British industry. It is called Missile 71-A, and Marconi will probably get part of that contract as well.

Kagger says: "None of the scientists seems to have been working on purely Swedish projects.

"Therefore we do not need to be seriously concerned. But naturally, we want to be clear about whether they died by chance or whether there were other reasons."

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## MEASURES URGED TO CURB ESPIONAGE BY EAST BLOC TRUCKS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Apr 87 p 10

[Article by Roger Magnergard]

[Text] SVENSKA DAGBLADET has learned that Customs has again submitted a proposal for stopping Soviet long-distance trucks from wandering around on Swedish roads. The proposal has been sent to "the authorities concerned."

Swedish counterintelligence has suspected for a number of years that Soviet trucks have been checking out the Swedish road network--the strength of bridges, clearances under viaducts, and the location of important defense installations in relation to those structures.

Despite circumstantial evidence, it has been impossible to prove that spying activity has been going on. No truck drivers have been brought to trial, but many vehicles have been inspected.

The proposal calls for applying the same rules in Sweden as those which Swedish truck drivers are subjected to in foreign countries. In the Soviet Union, Swedish drivers must follow a previously established itinerary and stick to a schedule.

Under customs regulations, it is entirely possible to apply the same rules to Soviet vehicles in Sweden. The only thing needed is approval by Parliament.

The regulations could then be applied as follows:

#### Clear Instructions

A Soviet truck rolls into Sweden through Haparanda. Its load consists of merchandise to be delivered in Stockholm. The driver is instructed by customs to follow Highway E-4 to Vastberga and unload his merchandise there.

He is clearly instructed not to take any other road, and the trip must not take more than 48 hours.

If the driver takes another road or does not stick to the schedule, he will be guilty of violating customs regulations--and that normally results in a fine of 200 kronor.

"That is one way of making it difficult to gather intelligence," says one person who has read the proposal.

Bjorn Eriksson, general director of customs, will neither confirm the proposal nor comment on it. But staff editor Jan Tuninger of the Defense Staff confirms that the proposal was discussed at a meeting between military intelligence and customs 2 weeks ago.

"A number of measures against the trucks were discussed," says Tuninger. "One of them was to make the trucks use certain roads during certain times.

"We on the Defense Staff consider that to be an excellent proposal."

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## PAPER CLAIMS GOVERNMENT LACKS CONSISTENT SECURITY POLICY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 22 May 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Center of Attention"]

[Text] The government is surely not satisfied itself. Time after time its obvious security policy goal, making Swedes the "masters in their own house," has been called in question.

The debate in and about this country with respect to foreign submarines and other matters has its characteristic shortcomings. There are lots of assertions--and very few facts. But the confusion surrounding the security situation gives those in charge of running the country more rather than less reason to be more open and have greater trust in the general public.

Christer Larsson's report in NY TEKNIK that in the fall of 1982 the Swedish Navy tried to prepare itself to deal with a submarine intrusion in Kanholmsfjarden got off to a good start without running into strong objections or denials. This does not mean that the state of affairs is crystal clear. Skeptics note that documentation is lacking.

What is being reported now should help to explain the indications that were discussed previously that the Swedish Navy was prepared (although not on full alert) when the alarm was sounded in Harsfjarden on 1 October 1982. But where does a reasonable secrecy limit on military measures lie? If like former Navy chief Per Rudberg one calls the preparations an ordinary combat unit exercise--without the slightest connection with an American naval visit that was known about months before--it should have been possible to mention the matter in the Submarine Commission's report.

Those who do not seriously believe that the Navy made up the whole thing to increase the pressure for more funding in the excitement following the grounding of the U-137 off Karlskrona would probably like to think that the concentration on Kanholmsfjarden conveys the impression of Sweden's eagerness to guard our waters.

But according to Tomas Ries, a security policy researcher who is active in Norway, people in Sweden do not understand that this country is exposed to an "unprecedented" and constant pressure. He feels that this year's Defense

Act is an inadequate signal to the rest of the world (would even the Conservatives' proposal have gone very far?); complacent and unrealistic Swedes make political mistakes (the Ferm and Bodstrom affairs, Roine Carlsson's "trappings") and do not act with enough force and conviction in dealing with submarine incursions--one simply has to ask if Sweden even wants to stop foreign submarines!

This tremendous salvo sounds like a summary of much that has been said in recent years. One thinks of Captain von Hofsten and his Navy comrades or of the fact that three-quarters of Sweden's regimental and flotilla leaders agreed with the statement that the capacity to carry out security policy has been weakened; this was before Olof Palme's death changed the debate climate.

Many others can be mentioned. Jahn Otto Johansen of Norway feels that the Soviets are trying to get us used to the idea that the Nordic region is an area of strategic importance and sensitivity as far as they are concerned; he scornfully calls our failure to see Moscow's true aims as "welfare state logic."

Wilhelm Agrell has talked in similar terms about Sweden's inability to understand what is at stake. And in the anthology "With All the Means Available" Gustaf Petren maintains that the government is quite satisfied about not getting the facts out and that it is doing everything it can to downplay submarine traffic. From the Finnish horizon General Gustav Hagglund maintains that Sweden has been "weakened." What is new is that Swedish sub hunters are appealing to Riksdag for increased resources.

Only a careful scrutiny can show to what extent Tomas Ries, who is known for a report on the Murmansk base, is able to document some of his all too familiar charges (aside from the increase in defense appropriations). But Undersecretary Pierre Schori countered Ries by questioning his qualifications instead. And Undersecretary Per Borg of the Defense Ministry said he has never heard criticism of Sweden's resolve on security policy from any foreign government.

It is "in the nature of things" not to comment on various reports of violations, Foreign Minister Sten Andersson maintained after SVENSKA DAGBLADET published a series of reports on the machinations against Sweden. The government can also claim that its deeds speak for themselves--for example the determination to find a good solution to the boundary question in the Baltic Sea where the Soviet Union now seems to be starting to move.

However what Tomas Ries and others are demonstrating is that there is a distrust of Sweden's line among many security policy amateurs. Their distrust seems terribly speculative. But the government is the center of attention and it has had to revise earlier assessments of our exposed situation that proved to be too optimistic. Constantly dismissing the critics in a careless, offhand and routine way can damage Swedish credibility.

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SWEDEN

MILITARY

BRIEFS

ANTI-SUB EXERCISE ANNOUNCED--The Navy started an anti-sub exercise off the west coast Thursday that involves some 30 ships, helicopters, airplanes and around 1500 men. "This is the first year we have had an anti-sub force with all the auxiliary systems: airplanes, helicopters, coastal corvettes, patrol boats, submarines and minesweepers," said the chief of the coastal fleet, Admiral Claes Tornberg, who is leading the exercise. But it is a reduced force that will not be up to full strength before sometime around 1990. Almost the entire coastal fleet is taking part in the exercise which--if a foreign submarine is detected--could instantly turn into the real thing. In that case depth charges could be used immediately. The exercise is being carried out in the waters between Goteborg and Lyskekil and will last about 2 weeks. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 22 May 87 p 22] 6578

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## DEPARTING FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER ON EC TIES, USSR TRADE

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 30 Apr 87 p 15

[Interview with Foreign Trade Minister Jermu Laine by Patricia Winckelmann-Zilliacus: "New Minister Will Not Have Easy Time"; date and place not given]

[Text] "The countries in the European Community have started to work seriously on closer cooperation. The process of European integration will be a big challenge for the next foreign trade minister. Developments in Europe call for a strong government in Finland."

These remarks were made by Foreign Trade Minister Jermu Laine. After a long period as foreign trade minister he is leaving his desk at Alexen 10 today. New forces and ideologies will enter the corridors of the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

"It is no exaggeration to say that European cooperation is entering a historic period. What is decided in the next few years will have an impact for decades to come. The EFTA meeting in Switzerland in May should take a stand on how the organization will respond to the increased cooperation in EC. The EFTA countries must present concrete proposals about how EFTA can be strengthened so that the free trade union can be used as an interest organization in cooperation with EC," Laine emphasized.

## Vision Needed

Laine feels it is especially important now to have vision as far as the future is concerned.

"The EC and EFTA decisions will seem quite simple some day in view of what lies ahead of us."

Jermu Laine has a lot of experience as foreign trade minister. He has held that post in various governments for almost 7 years.

"HUFVUDSTADSBLADET certainly tried to curtail this last 4-year period. But developments after the newspaper tried to remove me from office clearly show that the reports were incorrect," said Jermu Laine. He would have

liked very much to start a discussion on journalistic ethics, but this time the topic was foreign trade.

"The term 'foreign trade minister' is actually a little oldfashioned. It should be economic relations minister or minister for economic internationalization. Finland has done a good job with the first step in developing foreign trade. The country used to be much too dependent on forest industries but now we have managed to build up a more multifaceted export structure. The trade balance in recent years shows that the structure is a good one. In 1983-85 demand for forest industry products was low and prices declined but in spite of that our trade balance showed a surplus.

"Our trade with the Nordic countries shows that we have managed to build up a competitive multifaceted industrial sector. In the 1980's we have had an export surplus of close to 4 billion marks a year in trade with the Nordic countries. Despite the devaluation of the Swedish krona our prices have been competitive."

#### Second Step

Laine pointed out that we are now about to take the second step in our foreign trade. Now industry must really concentrate on countries outside the Nordic area, such as the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Italy.

"Some businesses have done this. But there must be a lot more who have the courage to get established in other countries and make Finland known to people who may know nothing about our country and who also have a lot of strange ideas about the way things are here. Someone in Holland asked me if we had any private firms at all in Finland.

"A third of the companies that take this foreign step give up. They must fight harder. They have to be on the spot and absorb the cultural environment of a foreign country. We have a good starting point. Now we must have the courage to go farther. It is not enough to do well in Scandinavia and the Soviet Union," Laine stated.

With regard to European cooperation he said that it is too early to say whether EFTA's importance will decline as integration in EC increases.

#### Concrete Proposals

"All the EFTA countries agree that the main thing is a strong EFTA. But these assertions should be given some kind of concrete basis soon. The specific proposals concerning how to make EFTA stronger in the face of the EC activities should be formulated as soon as possible," Laine pointed out.

"The first alternative we have is to strengthen EFTA. If that does not succeed, the Nordic countries should join forces in responding to the challenge from Europe. The May EFTA meeting should give some indication of how much interest there is in strengthening EFTA."

According to Laine the new foreign trade minister will face big challenges as a result of the integration process in Europe. But trade with the East will not give him time to catch his breath either.

"It is important not to concentrate blindly on bilateral trade with the Soviet Union or lull ourselves with the belief that if we succeed in balancing bilateral trade everything will be fine. Other forms of trade in addition to bilateral trade will be increasingly important in the future. This is due to the trend toward greater openness in the Soviet Union.

#### East Not Easy

"It is a question of holding our own in the competition for the Soviet market. West Europe is very interested in developments in the Soviet Union. Bilateral trade has given Finland a special position. There is no chance that we will be given special treatment in foreign exchange transactions, the best man will win there. But there is nothing to indicate that Finland will not succeed with the new trade forms such as joint companies and production and compensation trade. We simply have to perceive which way developments in the Soviet Union are heading.

"I am prepared to take the opposite position from university teacher Georg Henrik von Wright and his statements about the danger of internationalization. Finland has a chance of pulling through as long as the country steps out boldly and becomes internationalized. It is true that this also involves risks, but one can turn the risks into a positive challenge.

"A country that is economically strong can defend its identity and its cultural interests. Economic stability provides self-confidence and motivation to preserve national traits," Foreign Trade Minister Laine pointed out.

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## INDUSTRY CONFEDERATION OFFICIAL WARNS OF SLOWER GNP GROWTH

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 29 Apr 87 p 11

[Text] The economic trend in Finland may weaken again next year and according to present assessments the prospects do not look very promising in the somewhat longer term. This was noted by Tarmo Korpela, executive director of the National Federation of Finnish Industries, at an industrial meeting in Tornea on Tuesday.

He also referred to the formation of the government and said that these development prospects and the pressure for new expenditures that will apparently be part of the new government program will present further challenges as far as our economy is concerned.

Firmness of purpose is needed in both economic and industrial policy to stimulate economic development in the next few years and maintain employment.

An important part of this is to create the basic conditions for adequate tangible and intangible industrial investment. This calls for improving companies' self-financing capacity and their access to risk capital, lowering the costs of borrowed capital and eliminating the taxation of productive investments as part of a necessary tax reform.

One way to stimulate growth is to get market mechanisms to function more efficiently. The Competition and Price Committee's proposals for promoting healthy competition and avoiding price regulation under normal conditions are a step in the right direction. Instead of the protective mentality, Finland--like the other countries we compete with--should rely more on the positive effects of an automatic market mechanism, according to Tarmo Korpela.

He also referred to the price of electricity and said that calculations show that bulk rates for electricity and especially the so-called marginal rate that applies to new production threaten to increase by the mid-1990's in a way that will seriously impair the operations of energy-intensive industries. The goal should be to keep the real price of electricity at a level no higher than the current rate.

## Risk of Higher Inflation

The inflation rate of 2 percent that the state has set as a goal for those forming the 1988 budget is in great danger due to the labor settlements that have already been arranged and the legislation we now know about. The state's own labor costs will increase by around 8 percent next year compared to this year's level without any new labor agreement. There will be similar increases in labor costs in the private sector and industrial labor costs will rise by around 5 percent.

In view of the fact that we have again managed to build up this automatic increase in labor costs with our traditional centralized overall contracts based on income policy we should ask the unions openly if they are ready to collectively seek a new course in the early fall or later on during the winter and reach an agreement with employers on a way to check this automatic process, Somerto said.

The new government must change the course of labor policy. Before it goes into effect the new employment law should be amended so that the major emphasis is on developing labor services. Subsidized employment should be limited to special groups that are hard to employ. The unsatisfactory state of affairs that hinders mobility and makes the municipal labor market so stiff should be corrected, according to AFC director Arto Ojala.

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## BACKGROUND OF ENERGY PURCHASE FROM ALBANIA

Athens PONDIKI in Greek 15 May 87 p 12

/Editorial: "A 'Scandal' to Cry About"

/Text This little story that has become reading material in government, government opposition or theoretically neutral newspapers and that appears as a five-star piece of scandal, namely the legendary "electric power from Albania," has finally become a record: look at the facts and understand why.

All began at the end of 1985 when the DEI /Public Power Corporation services ascertained that we were in danger of remaining without power and that we had to go out and buy it. Among our possible suppliers were Albania, together with the Soviet Union, Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia.

In December 1985, Austria and Yugoslavia offered to provide electric power to us in 1986 at a price of 3.94 cents a kilowatt-hour (keep the price in mind because the whole secret lies there).

(Here we should add a parenthesis: the government enjoys financial and business dealings with Albania and at the bilateral ministerial meeting held in Tirana at the beginning of 1986 electric power also came up on the agenda).

On 10 January, Mavrakis went to Tirana with a DEI delegation and concluded an agreement for 780 gigawatts of electric power for 1986 at an average price of 3.10 cents a kilowatt, while at the same time the DEI services were saying that our production per kilowatt cost 3.34 cents, while internationally the only more advantageous price was the Soviet--2.70 cents--but the comrades did not guarantee the specific time of the normal flow of electric current.

On 15 January, the contract went to the administrative board for approval but no decision was made, while on 4 February it went back. Now, however, petroleum began to go from bad to worse and the services said that now a kilowatt-hour costs us 2.30 cents but at that same time the Italians proposed to us: "We sell power at 3.61 cents a kilowatt-hour if you like it."

The nice thing was that on 21 January we began getting Albanian power and the neighbors started yelling that they wanted their money. The DEI board decided to get power until the end of February but to press the Albanians to drop the price from 3.10 cents and to propose to them that we would like to get it up to the end of April but only at 2.10 cents a kilowatt-hour. The stupid thing was

that at the very same time the Italians and Yugoslavs proposed power to us at 4.26 cents and, of course, we did not buy it.

In the beginning of March, an Albanian delegation came to Athens and an agreement was concluded whereby the price for electric power in January-February would drop to 2.70 cents from the 3.10 cents that was also the price for further quantities that would be tied to the price of petroleum at which time it had reached 2 cents.

With this and that the average purchase price for electric power from Albania came to 2.40 cents for the first quarter of 1986, while during the same period DEI paid 2.70 cents for Soviet power.

On 18 March, DEI management made a decision: it approved the purchase of the amount for the first 2-month period at 2.70 cents. It approved the purchase of an amount for March and authorized the director general to negotiate the purchase of power from Albania for the second half of 1986.

One more fact: on 28 April, Austria proposed to sell us power at 2.90 cents, while at the same time we paid Albania just 1.06 cents a kilowatt-hour. Even today Albanian sources say and repeat that they did not come out winners in this agreement.

No more facts and just two words from us: this case of Albanian electric current is just not a serious one.

There certainly must be some kind of lusting for power on the part of Mavrakis.

There certainly must also be a lot of behind-the-scenes goings-on.

And in the court--if the case ever gets there--there will be a lot of laughs because some will be talking about scandals while others will be talking about the most profitable agreement ever concluded by DEI!

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GREECE

ECONOMIC

BRIEF

SOVIET GAS PIPELINE--Following the agreement concluded on the construction of an alumina plant, the issue on the import of Soviet natural gas has now also come to an end. According to information, the Ministries of National Economy and Energy agree on the import of Soviet gas. The final decision, according to the same information, will be made in mid-May by government bodies (ministerial council and the KYSYM /Government Council/ that will also get positive suggestions from interested ministries. The overall discussions on natural gas are taking place in view of the joint Greek-Soviet bilateral ministerial meeting scheduled for 29 June-3 July. The predominant issue at that meeting will be natural gas since the meeting will be preceded by visits to the Soviet Union by Greek specialists for offset benefits that the Soviets provide. Government officials estimate that if finally an agreement on natural gas is reached new prospects for Greek-Soviet relations will be opened. Besides the joint bilateral ministerial meeting, Deputy Minister of National Economy Giannos Papandoniou will seek an agreement for the establishment of joint companies something that Gorbachev's policy favors. Also, Greece will seek the promotion of Greek products on the Soviet market as well as the construction of four to six more refrigeration vessels by the Skaramanga shipyards. Finally, the Soviets are once again showing interest in having hotels built in Soviet cities by Greek construction companies. /Text/ /Athens KYRIAKATIKI ELEVTHEROTYPIA in Greek 10 May 87 p 46/ 5671

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